

MUSCOGIANA



1865

Civil War Sesquicentennial Issue

2015

SPRING 2015

VOLUME 25

NUMBER 2

MUSCOGIANA
Journal of the Muscogee Genealogical Society

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On the cover: Confederate Monument in downtown Columbus, ca. 1900, Courtesy of Columbus State University Archives

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COLUMBUS STATE
UNIVERSITY

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ISSN 1042-3419

From the Editor

I sincerely appreciate being given an opportunity to serve the Muscogee County Genealogical Society as editor of *Muscogiana*. The Columbus area is home to me, and I am delighted to be given a chance to serve the community from afar in this most worthwhile manner. This journal has long been an important source of information on Columbus area history, and I look forward to continuing its tradition of making available high-quality scholarship and useful information on local history to readers and researchers. I know all of you will join me in expressing gratitude to my predecessor in this post, Callie McGinnis, who recently stepped in again as interim editor of the journal and continues to do so much for the Society.

In this special "Civil War Sesquicentennial" issue of *Muscogiana*, we offer a range of articles presenting several perspectives on the war and the way it has been remembered in Columbus. Rebecca Bush, Curator of History at the Columbus Museum, presents an article about some remarkable artifacts recently acquired by the Museum from the Greene Collection offering a unique look into the war and its commemoration locally. Rachel Dobson, our assistant editor, offers an interesting summary of the many ways in which postwar memorialization activities were discussed and promoted in local newspapers, helping us understand how Columbus became a center of "Lost Cause" sentimentality in the South. Independent researcher Daniel Bellware presents us with a close look into the failed attempt of locals in the 1930s to have the Battle of Columbus officially designated as the last battle of the Civil War, and speculates on the consequences of that decision.

Also included are other pieces which provide information on the war and its remembrance. Callie McGinnis offers a fascinating look at how one of the daughters of Confederate General John Bell Hood came to be buried in Columbus. As I felt the "Sesquicentennial" issue needed to have some information on the actual fighting of the Battle of Columbus, I include here edited summaries of some of the first-hand accounts of Union officers who participated in the battle and destroyed the military property contained here as taken from official records. Finally, we have revived our book review section, and include two solid reviews of recent scholarship about the history of this region.

I hope you enjoy this special issue of *Muscogiana*, and that you will join me in congratulating all of our volunteer contributors for sharing their research and helping us understand a formative era in local history.

Mike Bunn, Editor

Civil War, Mournful Peace:

Highlights from the George Greene Collection at the Columbus Museum

By Rebecca Bush

The Chattahoochee Valley lost one of its most passionate collectors of local history on New Year's Day 2014, when Russell County Circuit Court Judge George Greene passed away at the age of 63. A native of Columbus, Georgia, and Phenix City, Alabama, Judge Greene dedicated his life to public service through the law, teaching Sunday school, and establishing the Cora Reid Greene Home for Children. He also served on The Columbus Museum's History Committee and loaned objects for temporary exhibitions.



Judge George Greene

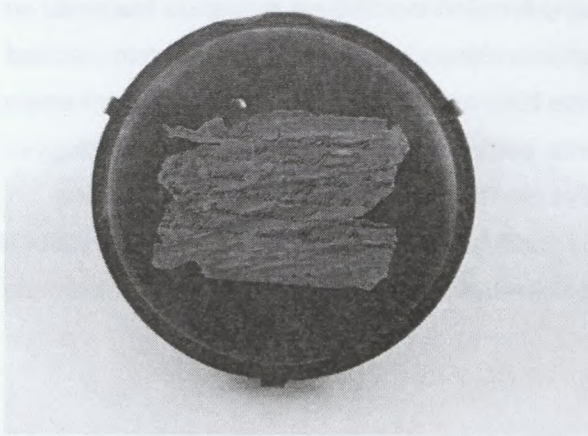
Greene's extensive collection of historic artifacts spanned from prehistory to the late 20th century, focusing primarily on Columbus, Phenix City, and Fort Benning. Greene conducted countless hours of in-depth research and showcased these remarkable objects in his own private museum, located in the basement of the old Phenix City post office. In late 2014 and early 2015, the Museum purchased more than 75 objects from the Greene collection at public auction in Maine and Tennessee, including several artifacts related to the Civil War in Columbus that are the focus of this article. The Columbus Museum is proud to be the new home of this wonderful portion of the Greene collection and is grateful to supporters who came forward to ensure these artifacts will remain in the Chattahoochee Valley to be studied and enjoyed by future generations.

Research for this article was compiled by Rebecca Bush, Curator of History at the Columbus Museum, during preparation for the temporary exhibition Once Collected, Always Cherished: Highlights from the George Greene and J. Kyle Spencer Collections, on view from August 16, 2015 to January 10, 2016.

War Comes to Columbus

The Civil War cut a swath of economic destruction throughout the South, as the fields of non-slave-owning yeoman farmers lay fallow and many communities lost what little industry they had. Between April 1861 and April 1865, however, Columbus became a manufacturing hub for the Confederacy, producing all manner of weapons, uniforms, and accoutrements to aid in the war effort. Columbus' status as the second largest Confederate industrial center, behind only the capital of Richmond, Virginia, resulted in thousands of southern soldiers wearing and carrying products made in the Chattahoochee Valley, as well as a nighttime raid that brought the fighting to Columbus' doorstep.

Confederate factories such as those in Columbus were large operations with dozens or hundreds of employees working in shifts, leaving paper trails of newspaper advertisements and building records. Craftsmen working alone, however, left few traces of their home businesses, making it harder to track down these entrepreneurs. Confederate canteen makers, in particular, can only rarely be matched to their products, which explains why Greene went to great lengths to acquire a local canteen with detailed provenance. The canteen's paper label, most likely written in the late 19th century, states, "This canteen was made by Thornton Nuckolls and used during the Civil War. Mr. Nuckolls had a shop on his farm where he supplied the soldiers with these canteens." Lest skeptical researchers be tempted to think this was an early example of counterfeiting historical souvenirs, a check of the National Archives reveals a November 1863 invoice written by James Thornton Nuckolls for the sale of 300 canteens and cotton webbing for slings to the arsenal in Columbus.¹



Wooden canteen made by Nathaniel Nuckolls and James Thornton Nuckolls, 1861-65. Museum purchase made possible by the Evelyn S. and H. Wayne Patterson Fund G.2014.30

¹ Shannon Pritchard, *Collecting the Confederacy: Artifacts and Antiques from the War Between the States* (El Dorado Hills, CA: SavasBeatie, 2006), 57.

It seems likely that J.T. Nuckolls invented and produced these canteens in collaboration with his father Nathaniel Nuckolls. The elder Nuckolls was one of the early purchasers of Muscogee (Creek) lands in Russell County, Alabama, just across the Chattahoochee River from Columbus. He established saw and grist mills, using industrial skills that would soon be in demand. In 1909, his daughter Elizabeth Nuckolls Long Ware wrote this memory of her family's work during the war years:

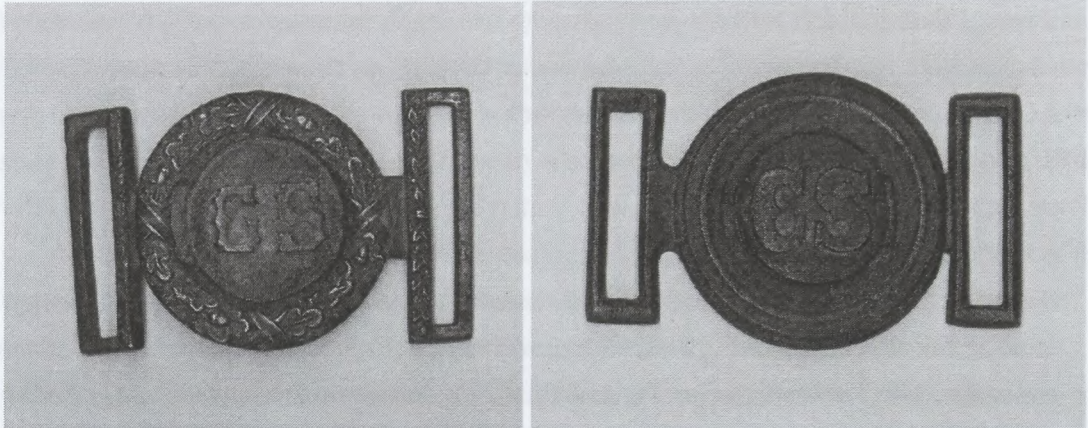
"Father had a machine workshop at his mills called "Variety Works," where he made looms, spinning wheels, tubs, churns, bread trays or any other household implement, water buckets, and canteens to send to the army. My mother and sisters had small looms, on which they wove the strappings for the canteens and knapsacks, and for bridle reins and saddle girths. All of the strapping was woven of the very best double and twisted cotton thread, indeed we were making a business of making everything that we could. Women, men too old for soldiers, boys too young, all did what they could...Father had put his youngest son, JT Nuckolls, and my oldest son, Thomas J. Long, in this machine shop, doing what was called government work. He got orders from the war commissary department at Columbus for army supplies of such as these things mentioned."²

Nathaniel Nuckolls submitted a Confederate patent application in 1862 for an "Army Canteen," described in Columbus' *Weekly Sun* as "a new style of Wood Canteen...neat and...superior to any others as it has but one joint, thus saving it from liability to leaks. It seems to us that Nuckolls' canteen would prove more serviceable and give more satisfaction than anything which has yet been gotten up."³ This style, which is now quite rare, involves two hollow wooden plates, joined by three copper dowel pins that also attach the three tin strap loops.

One of Columbus' largest and best-known Civil War factories was the Haiman Sword Factory. Run by Prussian immigrants Louis and Elias Haiman, the one-time tinsmith shop became famous for its finely crafted swords but also produced saddles, bayonets, revolvers, and tin cups. Sword belt plates made of brass might look like belt buckles to 21st-century eyes, but they actually served as a way to keep special sword belts, heavy with the weight of attached swords and scabbards, cinched around the hips of officers and enlisted men. The Greene Collection contains examples of both an officer's and an enlisted man's sword belt plate, with a tag on the enlisted pattern indicating it was picked up as a relic or souvenir from the Chickamauga Battlefield in northwest Georgia. Both examples include the letters "CS" to indicate "Confederate States," while the officer's pattern features elaborate wreathing and traces of gold plate.

²George Greene, "Nathaniel Nuckolls" research binder, date unknown. Permanent Collection Files, The Columbus Museum, Columbus, Ga.

³"New Canteen," *ColumbusWeekly Sun*, July 29, 1862.



Officer's (left) and enlisted man's (right) sword belt plates made by Louis Haiman, 1861-65. Museum purchase made possible by Sidney Halleck Yarbrough III, M.D., in memory of his great-grandfathers Walter Raleigh Vreeland, Private, CSA, and Henry Pleasant Yarbrough, Sharpshooter, CSA G.2014.31.1-.2

Of the many firearms manufactured in Columbus during the Civil War, perhaps the rarest model is the Columbus Armory carbine. This weapon was produced by John D. Gray, a native of England, who emigrated first to South Carolina and then Georgia to build railroad lines. By June 1861, John D. Gray and Company had opened a factory in Columbus known as the Columbus Armory. Gray wrote to Colonel Josiah Gorgas, Chief of Ordnance, to solicit a government weapons contract, stating that he was currently "turning out about six guns per day" as a trial run but could increase his "machinery and force" to produce "five to six hundred per month."⁴ Gray was contracted by the Ordnance Department at Knoxville, Tennessee, to produce 200 rifles and 1,000 carbines, but all evidence suggests that he only delivered 183 guns, at the rate of \$45 per weapon. The wooden stock on this weapon was quite likely supplied by Gray's furniture factory in Graysville, Georgia, a town named in his honor in Catoosa County. At some point in 1863, the Columbus Armory was leased by the Confederate government, but although Gray began calling his business the "Government Works" in advertisements, production actually shifted to focus on household items such as kettles, skillets, axes, and shovels, which he advertised to private individuals for "Confederate Money or exchange for country produce."⁵

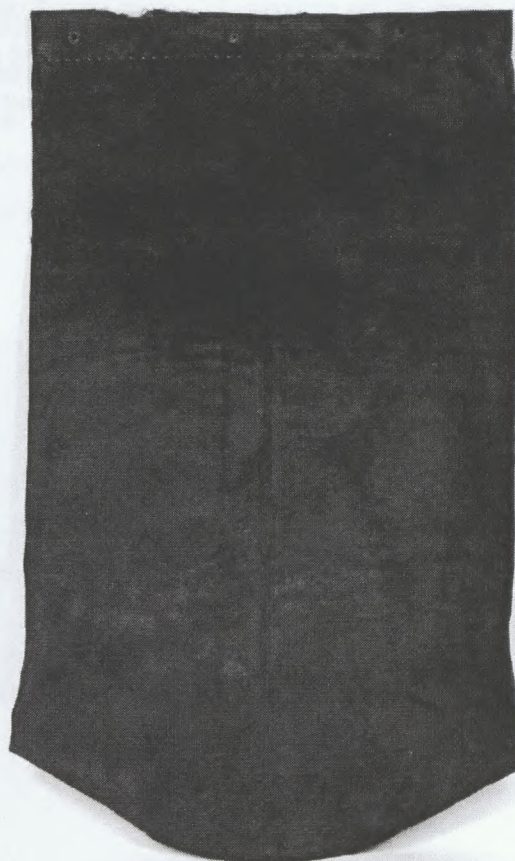
⁴ American Ordnance Preservation Association, Ltd., "John D. Gray and his Columbus Armory Carbine," *Militaria Collector's Journal*, Winter 1997.

⁵ Ibid.



Columbus Armory carbine made by John D. Gray, 1861-65. Museum purchase made possible by Friends of the Museum and Gift by Exchange of Mrs. Nathan Ohrbach and Mr. and Mrs. Jac H. Rothschild G.2014.32

W.S. Lloyd was one of several enterprising Columbus residents who turned the war into a business opportunity. This tarred canvas bag (below) was used as a duffel bag for Confederate sailors, with black tar applied to the canvas as a sealant to protect the bag's contents against moisture. Sailors used these bags, similar to haversacks carried by infantrymen, to carry personal belongings and a few days' worth of food. Lloyd, who also made protective rain covers for the uniform hats known as kepis, sewed these bags by hand, including six whip-stitched eyelets to allow for a drawstring.



Confederate Navy duffel bag made by W.S. Lloyd, 1861-65. Museum purchase made possible by Friends of the Museum G.2015.7

The Museum's bag was never issued to military personnel but instead found in a stash of surplus bags on "Bannerman's Island" in the Hudson River near New York City. Scottish-American businessman Francis Bannerman established an early prototype of the Army-Navy Store in 1865, eventually becoming the world's largest buyer of military surplus equipment. His holdings became so expansive that when he moved from Brooklyn to Manhattan in 1905, his new stockroom filled an entire city block. In 1900, Bannerman purchased a small Hudson River island and began building a castle for his family to live in and various warehouses to store his goods, including a vast quantity of black powder from the Spanish-American War. After Bannerman died in 1918, the condition of his home and warehouses rapidly deteriorated and the last merchandise from the island was removed in 1967, although the evocative ruins of this landmark business still stand today.⁶

Wooden camp chests played a very practical role in the Civil War, acting as suitcases for soldiers in camp to carry clothes, writing supplies, and keepsakes from home. A chest with a hinged lid could also double as a writing desk, as ink stains inside the lid of the Museum's chest suggest. Owners sometimes carved their names and ranks into the lids of their chests, serving as a kind of built-in luggage tag. The Museum's chest has "J.R. Grousbeck/Capt. Grousbeck/Co. H 3d Ia. Cav" carved on its lid. James R. Grousbeck enlisted in Company H of the Iowa 3rd Cavalry in September 1861, fighting in most of his unit's engagements and rising through the ranks quickly. His last promotion came in January 1865 when he became a captain, so the carving on this chest took place within the last few months of the war. This chest came to the Chattahoochee Valley on April 16, 1865, when the 3rd Iowa participated in the Battle of Columbus. Grousbeck led his company in a night assault on Girard (Phenix City), Alabama, and Columbus before the towns' industrial facilities were burned the next day. He mustered out of the Union Army in Atlanta in August 1865 after carrying this chest throughout the South. The young veteran died less than a year later in Iowa at the age of 26.⁷

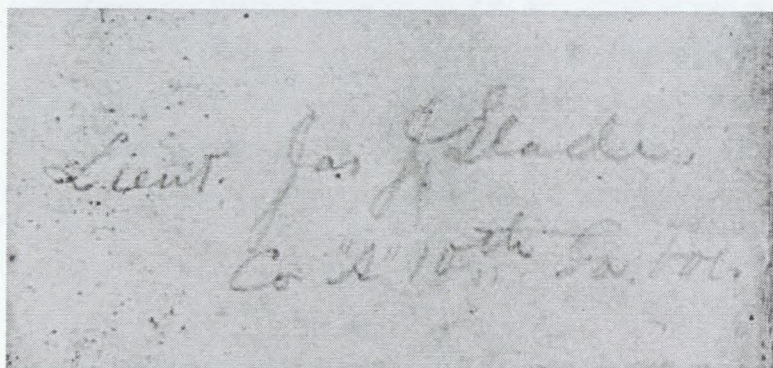
⁶Jane Bannerman, "Pollepel – An Island Steeped in History," *Bannerman Castle Trust, Inc*, accessed June 5, 2015, <http://www.bannermancastle.org/island-history.html>.

⁷ National Park Service, "Grousbeck, James R," accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=CBCF93A3-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A>.



Inscription on Civil War camp chest used by Captain J.R. Grousbeck, 3rd Iowa Cavalry, 1861-65. Museum purchase made possible by Friends of the Museum G.2015.8

A Columbus native, James Jeremiah Slade had just bought a cotton plantation and moved to Louisiana when the Civil War broke out. When the volunteer company he raised was rejected by Louisiana Governor Thomas Moore, who did not believe the war would last long, Slade returned home to join his former militia unit, the Columbus Guards. Slade joined his friends in Company A of the 10th Georgia Volunteers in Virginia in the spring of 1862, where he fought in the Peninsula Campaign. The first major Union offensive, the Peninsula Campaign, was intended by General George B. McClellan to take the Confederate capital of Richmond, but over the course of more than three months, Confederate generals Joseph E. Johnston and Robert E. Lee successfully halted and reversed McClellan's advances. Slade's diary begins on May 19, 1862, when the campaign had been underway for two months, and his conduct in the Battle of Seven Pines (or the Battle of Fair Oaks) earned him a quick promotion to lieutenant. Slade vividly describes the Seven Days Battles around Richmond at the end of June that forced McClellan into retreat, during which Slade attained the rank of captain and served as aide-de-camp to General Paul J. Semmes, captain of the Columbus Guards.



Diary of Lieutenant James Slade, 10th Georgia Volunteers, 1862. Museum purchase made possible by Thornton F. Jordan G.2015.9.1

Slade returned to Columbus on July 11, 1862, as a result of injuries, necessitating re-assignment. He was assigned to the quartermaster's department in General Kirby Smith's trans-Mississippi force, and Columbus Quartermaster F.W. Dillard provided transportation for Slade's post in Vicksburg, Mississippi. Arriving in mid-November, Slade describes the purchase of Texas cattle with counterfeit Confederate money and the appearance of northern gunboats on the Mississippi River. The diary's last entry on December 16, 1862, finds Slade in Montgomery, Alabama, moving back east. After the war, Slade led a well-known private girls' school on the estate of his home, St. Elmo.⁸

The Shooting of John Wilkes Booth

John Wilkes Booth's brief time in Columbus almost drastically changed American history. As the son and brother of two celebrated theater actors, by 1860 Booth longed for his own turn in the spotlight as a lead actor instead of being relegated to minor parts in a traveling company. The actor became connected with Matthew Canning, a former Philadelphia lawyer who managed a touring theatrical company and was building his first theater in Montgomery, Alabama. On October 1, 1860, the Canning Dramatic Company began its tour of the South in Columbus with a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* at Temperance Hall, the city's premier theater. Billed as "John Wilkes" to avoid comparisons with his more famous family members, Booth played Romeo opposite Mary Mitchell to favorable reviews. This early triumph was short-lived, however, when on October 12, Canning accidentally shot Booth. Details of the event vary, but the most likely version takes place in a room at the Planters' Hotel on Broad Street where the troupe was staying. Canning gave the following account to a reporter in 1886:

"I laid down on the bed and was in a doze when [Booth] saw my pistol in my rear pocket. Every body carried weapons down in that country, and so did I. Seeing the pistol, Booth yielded to his passion for arms, and he drew it out of my pocket. I could feel it glide from me, but was in that state that I did not resist or rise. Although he had just said that I wanted rest and sleep, he pointed the pistol at an iron mark on a wall opposite and discharged it right there in the room. Of course I sprang up, complaining that he excited me by that explosion. He then said he wanted another shot, and I objected; but he seemed to have his mind on firing again to show his accuracy of aim. The pistol had got rusted, and when I gave him a cartridge to put in it, it would not fit easily. He took his knife and began to scrape the pistol and the cartridge, and while in the act of doing it, down came the lock in my hand and discharged the pistol, and the ball struck him

⁸The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1920, s.v. "Slade, James Jeremiah."

in the side, barely missing the femoral artery and it lodged in his body. We thought he would die, but he recovered in a few weeks."⁹

TEMPERANCE HALL,
Columbus, Georgia.
first appearance as a Star
OF
JOHN WILKES BOOTH.

MONDAY EVENING, OCT. 1, 1860.

ASSISTANT MANAGER, John Wilkes Booth, of the Theatre, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
HEAD MASTER, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
DETECTIVE, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
PROTECTOR, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
STAGE MANAGER, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
LEADER OF THE ORCHESTRA, Mr. M. W. CANNING.
PROTECTOR, Mr. M. W. CANNING.

PRICES OF ADMISSION:
Reserved Seats, 75 cents. Tickets, 50 cents.
Children under 10 years of age, 25 cents. Free, 10 cents.

Mr. M. W. CANNING, Director, Company, is now for his new Theatre in Montgomery will have the honor of appearing.

Columbus
For a Limited Number of Nights.

THE FAMOUS JOHN WILKES, OR
JOHN WILKES,
IN THE PARTS OF AN ASSASSIN AND HIS VICTIM.
MISS MARY MITCHELL,
Will have the honor of appearing in the first time in Columbus supported by the following Ladies and Gentlemen:

Miss Julia Nelson, from the Theatre, New York.	Mrs. Emma Hanchette, from the Theatre, New York.
Miss Mollie Williams, from the Theatre, New York.	Miss E. Mitchell, from the Theatre, New York.
Mrs. Lewis, Miss Lewis, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. J. W. Albough, from the Theatre, New York.
Mr. S. K. Chester, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. J. M. Ward, from the Theatre, New York.
Mr. W. Sheldon, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. Marion, from the Theatre, New York.
Mr. H. Watson, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. Keller, from the Theatre, New York.
Mr. DeCoursey, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. J. Lewis, from the Theatre, New York.
Mr. G. F. Lester, from the Theatre, New York.	Mr. J. Lewis, from the Theatre, New York.
	Mr. More, from the Theatre, New York.

THE EVENING'S ENTERTAINMENT WILL COME WITH AN
ORCHESTRA by the ORCHESTRA.
Ladies and Gentlemen, please be seated.

ROMEO & JULIET.

TO CONCLUDE WITH THE FAMOUS PART OF A
DAY IN PARIS.

Thursday Evening, second appearance of
MR. JOHN WILKES.

Broadside advertising John Wilkes Booth's performance at Temperance Hall, Columbus, Ga., 1860. Museum purchase made possible by Thornton F. Jordan and Thornwill Farm, Harris County, Ga.
G.2015.11.1

The severity of his wound caused Booth to miss the remainder of the company's performances in Columbus. On October 20, the group's last night in Columbus, Canning's troupe performed *Julius Caesar* as a benefit for their fellow actor. Booth was still too weak to read the entire role, but he appeared onstage to recite Mark Antony's famous "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears" speech. Even after arriving at Canning's own theater in Montgomery, Booth did not perform until October 29, more than two weeks after his shooting. As the femoral artery is one of the body's major blood vessels, Booth would have bled out and died within minutes of the accident had it been severed. Instead, the bullet hit a few inches away, and Booth survived. He later assassinated President Abraham Lincoln at the end of the Civil War, throwing the newly reunited country into further chaos.

⁹ Quoted in Dave Taylor, "Shooting Booth," *Boothie Barn*, July 11, 2012, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://boothiebarn.com/2012/07/11/shooting-booth/>.

A Mournful Peace

The origins of Memorial Day have long been shrouded in mystery and ambiguity, with various municipalities claiming their place in the day's history. However, recent research by local residents makes a convincing case that Memorial Day as we now know it – a day to decorate the graves of America's soldiers, observed across the country – began in place other than Columbus' Linwood Cemetery. During the Civil War, a Columbus women's group known as the Soldiers' Aid Society provided food and supplies to local soldiers in the field and their families at home. The end of the war found these women altering their mission and changing their name to the Ladies Memorial Association (LMA). On March 10, 1866, the LMA's secretary Mary Ann Williams wrote a letter to the *Columbus Daily Sun* and the *Columbus Daily Enquirer* on the group's behalf. The widow of a Confederate colonel, Williams called for women throughout the South to decorate the graves of Confederate soldiers on the same day each year. She wrote in part,

"The Ladies are now, and have been for several days, engaged in the sad but pleasant duty of ornamenting and improving that portion of the city cemetery, sacred to the memory of our gallant Confederate dead, but we feel it unfinished work unless a day be set apart annually for its especial attention...we can keep alive the memory of the debt we owe them by dedicating at least one day in each year to embellishing their humble graves with flowers."¹⁰

Lizzie Rutherford, another LMA member, eventually chose April 26 as the date for the observance, as it was the anniversary of Confederate General Johnston's surrender. With their detailed planning and letters to newspapers throughout the South, Williams, Rutherford, and others inspired multiple cities to observe a day of remembrance and grave decoration for the Civil War dead in 1866. The proof of their influence is borne out by numerous period newspaper accounts of ceremonies in both North and South, frequently acknowledging "the women of Columbus, Georgia" or "the ladies of Georgia." Even federal General John A. Logan, commonly referred to as "the father of Memorial Day," made reference to the Southern celebrations when proposing his own national version of the day in 1868.¹¹

As women throughout the North and South created memorial organizations to honor former soldiers in the months and years after the Civil War, veterans formed their own groups to maintain close ties. Savannah, Georgia, was the site of one of the earliest veterans' organizations, established in 1865, but groups in most southern cities came into existence in the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s after the end of Reconstruction and occupation by federal troops. Over time, these disparate local organizations came together under the banner of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), founded in 1889 in New Orleans, Louisiana. The UCV mimicked the functions of most existing veterans groups, focusing on social gatherings and charitable causes like raising money for disabled soldiers and war

¹⁰ Quoted in Daniel Bellware and Richard Gardiner, *The Genesis of the Memorial Day Holiday in America* (Columbus, Ga.: Columbus State University, 2014), 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22-35.

widows. Governance was based on a military command hierarchy and the local organizations that joined this new national structure became known as "camps" with names that usually honored a local military hero.

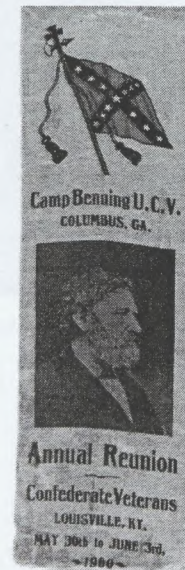
The Columbus chapter of the UCV formally adopted its charter in December 1895, choosing the name Camp Benning in honor of Confederate General Henry L. Benning. Newspaper accounts of meetings in the late 1890s invariably used the words "very enthusiastic" to describe the assembly of more than 100 veterans. In May 1900, 25 members attended the national reunion in Louisville, Kentucky, joining roughly 3,000 Confederate veterans, with newspaper accounts estimating total attendance between 100,000 and 150,000 to make it the largest UCV reunion to date. Members of 1,300 camps, including Camp Benning, gathered to hear speeches, enjoy a parade, and raise \$223,000 for a memorial building in Richmond. A poignant note in the camp's minutes about fundraising for the trip reads,

"The Camp hopes to be able to raise enough money to send at least a dozen who are not able to bear the expenses. They are rapidly passing over to join the silent majority on the other side and we want them to attend one more Reunion and have the pleasure of once more looking into the face and clasping hands with those who stood shoulder to shoulder with them on the hard fought fields of Tennessee and Virginia."¹²



Ladies Memorial Association ribbon worn by Lizzie Rutherford at first Memorial Day ceremony, 1866. Museum purchase made possible by Thornwill Farm, Harris County, Ga., and a Friend of the Museum G.2015.10.1

Camp Benning chapter, United Confederate Veterans Reunion ribbon, 1900. Museum purchase made possible by Friends of the Museum G.2015.12.1



¹² United Confederate Veterans, Benning Camp Collection (SMC 83), Columbus State University Archives, Columbus, Ga.

Leon A. Camp was the "comrade" in charge of the badge committee, promising that each one would cost only 25 cents and would be "the handsomest badge the camp has ever had." The badges must have been well-received, because the July 1900 meeting included a request that the camp have "20 badges of a combination sort to be worn at reunions and our funeral occasions." In 1901, before another national convention, Camp reported that the badges "are beautiful in every respect and are no doubt as handsome as any that will be seen in Memphis. The well-remembered features of Gen. Henry L. Benning, 'Old Rock,' will greet the eye of many of his old brigade at the reunion." State divisions also held their own reunions, as Georgia's did at Macon in 1901. Camp Benning members made plans to take a special train from Columbus for a \$2 round-trip ticket.¹³



Camp Benning Confederate Veterans Reunion delegate badge, 1910. Museum purchase made possible by Friends of the Museum G.2015.12.3

¹³Ibid.

**"We Beg the Assistance of the Press and the
Ladies throughout the South to Aid Us":
Chattahoochee Valley Newspapers and the Lost Cause**

By Rachel Dobson



Historic marker in downtown Columbus discussing the town's role in the creation of Confederate Memorial Day.

Photo courtesy of the author

Elite white citizens of Columbus, Georgia, and the Chattahoochee River Valley actively promoted ideas of the Lost Cause during and after the Civil War.¹ They preferred to think of themselves and their community in a constellation of romanticized ideas, images and behaviors that comprised a public and collective memory of the Lost Cause. Much of that collective memory is documented in newspapers and publications of the time. The newspaper editors, publishers, and other members of the media played a vital role in supporting and validating these ideas for the entire community. Confederate Memorial Day exercises, Ladies Memorial Association letters to the editor, soldiers' reminiscences, commemorations to the Civil War dead, and more may be found in the pages of the Valley newspapers. These articles and editorials, as well as other public documents, reinforced and helped build for the region a publicly shared memory of the Old South and the reasons for fighting the Civil War. This paper examines ways in which ideas of the Lost Cause were portrayed in a selection of published sources in the Chattahoochee Valley area from immediately after the Civil War into the early twentieth century that provided meaning for white citizens of the region.

The basic beliefs of Lost Cause mythology follow a line of thinking outlined by historian Caroline Janney: the Southern states would not have seceded if they had been allowed to exercise their own sovereignty; the war was caused by this justified secession – the preservation of slavery had nothing to do with it. In fact, enslaved people were happy in their circumstances. African Americans who were enslaved actually sided with the Confederacy and did not want freedom, nor were they prepared to live in freedom when it actually came to them. The Union Army won the war because the North had more troops and better resources than the South did. The Confederate Army fought bravely, Southern warriors were heroic and "saintly" and generals such as Robert E. Lee were the paragon of the Southern warrior. Last but not least, it was up to devoted Southern women to make sure their men were not forgotten and were memorialized in the "sanctified" way that they deserved.²

¹ The author is grateful to Dr. Dianne Bragg at The University of Alabama for her research guidance for this paper. The quotation in the title is from Mrs. Mary Williams' letter to the *Columbus Times*, March 12, 1866, reprinted in United Daughters of the Confederacy, Georgia Division, Lizzie Rutherford Chapter, no. 60, Columbus, *A History of the Origin of Memorial Day as Adopted by the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbus, Ga., and Presented to the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy* (Columbus, Ga.: T. Gilbert, 1898), 24 (hereafter known as *Origin of Memorial Day*). Faye L. Jensen, "'Let Us Not Be So Far Behind' – Columbus, Georgia, and the Struggle of a New South Town" in *Making a New South – Race, Leadership, and Community after the Civil War*, eds. Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2009), 29-45, lays out the complex economic and social environment of Columbus. Jensen's 2009 article is based on her dissertation: "Power and Progress in the Urban South: Columbus, Georgia, 1850-1885," Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1991. On Columbus' and other Georgia towns' race to keep up with Atlanta in the New South period, see Harold E. Davis, "'A Brave and Beautiful City': Henry Grady's New South," *American Journalism*, Vol. V, no. 3 (1988): 132; and Harold E. Davis, *Henry Grady's New South - Atlanta, A Brave and Beautiful City* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 1990), 54.

² Caroline Janney, "The Lost Cause," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed October 3, 2014, http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Lost_Cause_The. This article summarizes the basic ideas of the Lost Cause elaborated by Janney and many scholars (see footnote 9 below). Slavery was a vital part of the antebellum Southern economy, especially in the fertile plantations of the Black Belt and the Chattahoochee River Valley. See, for example, David Williams, *Rich Man's War - Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley* (Athens,

As collective, or public, memory, the Lost Cause functioned as "a body of beliefs about the past that help(ed) a public or society understand both its past and its present, and by implication, its future."³ In publishing ideas and images of the Lost Cause, newspapers (and other public documents) functioned (and to some degree still function) as a medium for this public memory because they were "the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions," acting both as a cultural authority and as a voice of the people.⁴

Columbus was not alone in its collective mythologizing of an antebellum golden age. Scholars have documented a constellation of beliefs and characteristics of the Lost Cause and the reasons behind its creation and its manifestations throughout Southern culture that continues into the present day.⁵ White community elites throughout the South communicated and supported those ideas with their activities and organizations. The Georgia press echoed and reinforced those ideas and made them real in print, "for the Lost Cause was still a living issue to many a Georgia editor."⁶

The Newspapers

"The past is linked with too many memories to be forgotten." – *Columbus Sun*⁷

Evidence of the Lost Cause was published throughout the pages of the largest city daily, the *Columbus Enquirer*, later the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun* and in the smaller weekly newspaper across the Chattahoochee River in Seale, Alabama, the *Russell Register*. Beginning in 1865 and through the consolidation of the *Enquirer-Sun* in 1874 and the founding of the *Russell Register* in 1875, into the

Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 6. Williams writes, "Perhaps nowhere can the divisive role of the economic class system and the caste system of slavery be viewed more clearly than in the lower Chattahoochee River Valley of Georgia and Alabama. Though primarily an agricultural region, it held one of the Confederacy's major manufacturing centers."

³ John Bodnar, "Public Memory in an American City: Commemoration in Cleveland," in John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 76, quoted in Janice Hume, "Press, Published History, and Regional Lore – Shaping the Public Memory of a Revolutionary War Heroine," *Journalism History* 30, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 201.

⁴ John Bodnar, *Remaking America – Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

⁵ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion – The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001); Caroline Janney, *Remembering the Civil War – Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood – The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1980). For research on public memory of the Civil War and its relationship to folklore focusing on Georgia, see especially Elissa R. Henken, "Taming the Enemy – Georgian Narratives about the Civil War," *Journal of Folklore Research* 40, no. 3 (Sep. – Dec., 2003): 289-307, accessed: 31/10/2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3814912>; and Janice Hume and Amber Roessner, "Surviving Sherman's March – Press, Public Memory, and Georgia's Salvation Mythology," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 119-137.

⁶ Louis Turner Griffith, John Erwin Talmage, and John E. Drewry, *Georgia Journalism, 1763-1950*, (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 98. An example is the election of Confederate hero General John B. Gordon, "[whose] widespread editorial support seems to have been offered more as a tribute to his past military glories than as an endorsement of his current progressiveness."

⁷ Quoted with no date in *Georgia Journalism*, 92, in the context of postwar Reconstruction in Georgia.

1880s, these newspapers provide a window into their communities still struggling to come back after the destruction of the Civil War. At every turn in the local papers, articles and editorials on topics related to the war, such as Confederate Day ceremonies and tributes to the Civil War dead, veterans' celebrations, reminiscences and obituaries, advertisements and social columns revealed and reinforced for local communities a publicly shared belief in a pre-war Golden Age and a romanticized Lost Cause.⁸

Newspapers and public documents, such as local and organizational histories, have always been media that document and disseminate publicly shared information, including public memory. According to Janice Hume, the press, "through its unique form of storytelling, contributed to regional mythology by amplifying and legitimizing it for a larger audience."⁹ Published documents in the Chattahoochee Valley and elsewhere in the South played a significant role in promulgating and making real the public memory and mythology of the Lost Cause. For example, after the Civil War, newspapers were an important vehicle for Ladies' Memorial Associations and related women's organizations to communicate with each other and with the newspaper-reading society at large, as well as to validate their activities through public documentation. In articles, letters to the editor and reprinting circulars, prominent women in Southern cities (as well as other regions) were able to inform and influence the public to raise money to collect, bury and build memorials for the dead.¹⁰

Founded as a weekly Whig newspaper in 1828 by Mirabeau B. Lamar, by 1850 the *Columbus Enquirer* competed with at least two other newspapers.¹¹ Jensen notes its role as editorial town booster in mid-century, bragging about Columbus' growing factories that would rival those in industrial Lowell, Massachusetts. The newspaper acted as pacesetter for the town, asking, for example, in 1852 why Montgomery, Alabama, already had gaslights and Columbus did not.¹² It appeared to be more progressive in politics, too. The newspaper continued its relatively independent political history by taking a cooperationist position toward secession. In 1858, the *Enquirer's* editor resigned "because of the

⁸ Although other economic and social classes actively read the newspapers, they were primarily written by and for the white elite community in the Chattahoochee River Valley region. Most of the newspaper sources in the present study are from Muscogee County, Georgia and Russell County, Alabama, but both papers solicited subscribers and advertisers from a wider region. Janney, "The Lost Cause," writes about more modern and "mainstream" manifestations of these beliefs. For a discussion of how the Lost Cause has reasserted itself in contemporary culture, see W. Stuart Towns, *Enduring Legacy – Rhetoric and Ritual of the Lost Cause* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 2012).

⁹ Hume, "Press, Published History, and Regional Lore," 200. Hume sums up newspapers' role as a major "creator" and "carrier" of "public consciousness."

¹⁰ Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 51. Janney notes that this post-war period was not the first time women's organizations had used circulars reprinted in newspapers to promote their causes. See her note 37, p. 218.

¹¹ Virginia Claire Cooksey, "The Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer – A Study of Literary Culture as Reflected in One Southern Newspaper," M.A. thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1948.

¹² Jensen, "Power and Progress," 23, 38. Joseph B. Mahan, *Columbus - Georgia's Fall Line "Trading Town"* (Northridge, Ca.: Windsor Publications, 1986), 206. Mahan writes that 1852 was the year the idea of a gasworks was "conceived," and Gas Light Company of Columbus was organized in 1854.

townspeople's uncompromising position on the slavery issue," revealing the comparatively moderate stand of the paper.¹³

When war became inevitable, like many Southern newspapers, the *Enquirer* moved to stand with the Confederacy.¹⁴ The newspapers in Columbus went through the ordeal and consequences of the war along with the rest of the community. On April 16 and 17, 1865, after a long raid through Alabama, General James H. Wilson's forces attacked Columbus and burned much of the town, including most of its war-related industries. The *Enquirer* reported that its editor, J. J. Jones, was killed on the main street of town during the battle.¹⁵ The *Columbus Sun* wrote that "the destruction [was] so 'thorough and complete' that they were forced to buy new equipment."¹⁶ Opinions differ on how complete the destruction of the town's presses actually was. The Georgia Press Association intimated that the *Enquirer's* pre-war Unionist sympathies might have helped them through the disaster: "The failure of General James H. Wilson to wreck the *Enquirer's* building, as he did those of the other two Columbus papers, was so obvious that it stirred the rumor of a spy among the employees."¹⁷ Other sources tell a slightly different story: "The *Daily Sun* and the *Columbus Times* were wrecked and the *Memphis Appeal* ended its wanderings as its presses were destroyed. Only the *Columbus Enquirer's* presses remained intact, but Wilson forced the paper to cease publication."¹⁸ The *Sun* spent the summer looking for a new press and by August had resumed publication.¹⁹ In 1874 the older, politically independent *Enquirer* bought the younger *Columbus Sun* to form the *Enquirer-Sun*.²⁰

In 1875, just across the Chattahoochee River in the village of Seale, Alabama, the weekly *Russell Register* was founded as a Democratic paper and the official organ of the county.²¹ Seale, a thriving little town in the center of Russell County, Alabama, had been made the county seat in 1868, in the early years of Reconstruction and remained so during the height of the New South period. The county weekly was the social as well as the political organ for the surrounding communities. With almost no exceptions,

¹³Jensen, "Power and Progress," 70. Nancy Telfair, *A History of Columbus, Georgia 1828-1928* (Columbus, Ga.: Historical Publishing Co., 1929), 102. Jensen, "Let Us Not," 71, notes that the *Columbus Daily Sun*, November 17, 1859, chimed in with a local vigilante group that had just run a man out of town for abolitionist murmurings by writing, "Should he or any of his ilk show themselves in this community again, they will hardly escape so lightly."

¹⁴Telfair, 102. See also *Georgia Journalism*, 55.

¹⁵Telfair, 136, reprints the article in the *Columbus Enquirer*, June 27, 1865, with this information.

¹⁶*Georgia Journalism*, 90.

¹⁷*Georgia Journalism*, 90. The authors list no source for this information. Telfair, 141, writes, also without sources, "The 'Enquirer' was not burned then and it was thought that a spy was employed there and thus the plant was saved."

¹⁸James P. Jones, "Wilson's Raiders Reach Georgia: The Fall of Columbus, 1865," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (Fall, 1975): 324.

¹⁹Jensen, "Power and Progress," 323. Jensen quotes the *Columbus Daily Sun*, August 31, 1865. *Georgia Journalism*, 90.

²⁰*Georgia Journalism*, 90, 356.

²¹Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *History and Bibliography of Alabama Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 1954), 159. Anne Kendrick Walker, *Russell County in Retrospect - An Epic of the Far Southeast* (Salem, Mass.: Higginson Book Co., 2006, reprinted ed., Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, Inc., 1950), 182-183.

the *Register's* owners and/or editors went on to serve in political or appointed office in Russell County or higher up. Like other rural weeklies run by candidates or soon-to-be candidates, the newspaper often served as a political springboard for white landowners or businessmen who wanted to wield power in the county or region. Although different, the *Russell Register* and the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun* were inextricably related. Their readers moved back and forth between each area, in trade and society, for vocation and residence. The smaller towns of Russell County depended heavily on the city of Columbus for their trade, resources and entertainment.²² The *Register* was supportive of Columbus and at different times, cheer-led for the entire region.

The Ladies

Pervading many of these public sources that articulated a collective memory of the Old South and the Lost Cause is the appearance of unity and an assumption of a general consensus of belief throughout the community. This characteristic is found prominently in newspaper descriptions of the commemorative activities of the "Ladies." Editors cooperated by reiterating these ideas for readers who might be tempted to question them. Even the ostensible author of the phrase "Lost Cause" received only nominally positive reviews for his new book in the *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, because he did not toe the party line. In early 1866, former *Richmond Examiner* editor Edward A. Pollard published his defining book, *The Lost Cause - A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. In September of that year, just a few months after Columbus' own inaugural Confederate Memorial Day rites, the *Enquirer* reviewed Pollard's book, recommending it with reservations:

[He] has told the melancholy Confederate story in a manner that will make his history one of the most readable and entertaining of all the great historic annals of the world. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that he has severely criticized the blunders of some of the Confederate leaders, and so freely expressed his opinion of the differences at home that contributed to the loss of the "cause."²³

The irony of objecting to Pollard's "freely expressing" his critique of the Confederacy apparently escaped the reviewer. Columbus editors spoke for the community elites when they expected journalists and historians of the former Confederacy to project a unified front to the world.²⁴

²²Willoughby, 70, passim.

²³*Columbus Daily Enquirer*, September 20, 1866. Pollard's book popularized the phrase "Lost Cause" in reference to the South's defeat in the Civil War. Although a hardline secessionist and white supremacist, Pollard was very anti-Jefferson Davis. Pollard was not the first to use the phrase "the lost cause" in reference to the Civil War, as a quick keyword search of digitized newspaper databases will show.

²⁴Regarding the attempt to appear unified, there continued into the 20th century a strong current among Lost Cause advocates, especially among the United Daughters of the Confederacy, to make sure the history of the Confederacy was written "objectively" and "correctly," without bias. See, for example, James M. McPherson, "Long-Legged Yankee Lies - The Southern Textbook Crusade," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, Kindle Edition (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 64-78, especially 71.



Portrait of Mary Ann Williams in Avery, Isaac Wheeler, *The History of the State of Georgia From 1850 to 1881* (New York, N.Y.: Brown & Derby, 1881), 242. Original from Library of Congress. Accessed October 17, 2015: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/T4vh67615?urlappend=%3Bseq=287>. Courtesy of HathiTrust

In the days, weeks and months after the end of the war, men and women throughout the entire country redoubled their efforts to locate, document, and bury the bodies of dead soldiers. Georgia women like Columbusite Mary Anne Howard (Mrs. Charles J.) Williams and Miss Mary A. Green of Resaca, Georgia, began raising money for proper burials.²⁵ Women throughout the South who had organized to nurse wounded soldiers now reformed and reorganized to focus on dead soldiers and their graves.²⁶ These organizations also wrote letters to the editor, encouraged press coverage of their work and produced their own publications, in order to legitimize their mission. The local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy published the history of the organization's founding – along with that of the Columbus Ladies' Memorial Association (LMA) and the earlier Soldiers' Aid Society – describing it in language epitomizing concepts of the Lost Cause:

...[they] who had dressed the wounds, smoothed the pillows, closed the eyes, and twined garlands for the martyrs of the Lost Cause...The Ladies' Memorial Association, like the Phoenix, rose from the Soldiers' Aid Society, which was consumed in the fires that burnt the Confederacy. The parent organization was born under the shadow of the altar in the Baptist Church of Columbus, on May 21st, 1861, and its object was to perform woman's part in the service of her country in time of war.²⁷

²⁵ Isaac W. Avery, *The History of the State of Georgia from 1850 to 1881: Embracing the Three Important Epochs: the Decade Before the War of 1861-5; the War; the Period of Reconstruction* (New York, N.Y.: Brown and Derby, 1881), 242, 361.

²⁶ See especially Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters - The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2003); Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past - Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) and Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering - Death and the American Civil War* (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), especially 211-249.

²⁷ *Origin of Memorial Day*, 5. The birth of the Soldiers' Aid Society, "under the shadow of the altar in the Baptist Church of Columbus," explicitly connecting the Columbus women's organizations (including the later UDC) with one of the oldest churches in the Chattahoochee Valley, the First Baptist Church of Columbus, founded as Ephesus Baptist Church of Christ in 1829. For more on the relationship between mainstream religious denominations in the South and the Lost Cause, see Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood - The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

A postwar brief history of Georgia, published in 1881, gave high praise to the work of Mary Williams, the widow of a former Georgia Speaker of the House and a prominent Confederate soldier who died in service. After the war, Williams organized help for surviving veterans as well as the dead and worked to promote "Decoration Day."²⁸ As members of the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy told the story, Miss Rutherford came up with the idea of holding a Decoration Day for Confederate graves on April 26 and the newly formed LMA asked Mary Williams, its secretary, to write a letter to the newspaper, which documented the truth of their activities. On March 12, 1866, the *Columbus Times* published Williams' letter, imploring readers to "Let the soldiers' graves, for that day at least, be the Southern Mecca to whose shrine her sorrowing women like pilgrims, may annually bring their grateful hearts and floral offerings."²⁹ She imbues her letter with the geographic sweep of a Bierstadt landscape, dramatizing the close connection among the sections of the re-united nation as well as the equality in rank among the fallen Confederate soldiers:

Therefore, we beg the assistance of the press and the ladies throughout the South to aid us in the effort to set apart a certain day to be observed, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande...Let all alike be remembered, from the heroes of Manasas[sic] to those who expired amid the death throes of our hallowed cause. We'll crown alike the honored resting places of the immortal Jackson in Virginia, Johnston at Shiloh, Cleburne in Tennessee and the host of gallant privates who adorned our ranks.³⁰

A little over two weeks later, a letter addressed from Russell County to the *Columbus Daily Enquirer* chimed in with heartfelt agreement with Mrs. Williams' letter, building an even stronger impression of unified thought among these ladies. The unnamed writer, who signed herself only "Alabama" and claimed to speak for "ladies of Alabama," connected Columbus' instigation – and presumably all of Alabama's promise of participation – with women's organizing events in Virginia and "other parts of the country." In this, the anonymous lady effectively echoes Williams' earlier description of the collective effort of many small groups working in widely scattered areas throughout the South to do whatever each one could toward "that sacred duty, so dear to every suffering Southern woman." The Russell County writer goes on to recount efforts by the ladies of Winchester, Virginia, who had, with others, already begun national fundraising efforts for their local memorials. In the letter, she cites the ladies' belief in the reciprocity of their efforts, further emphasizing the unity of the South:

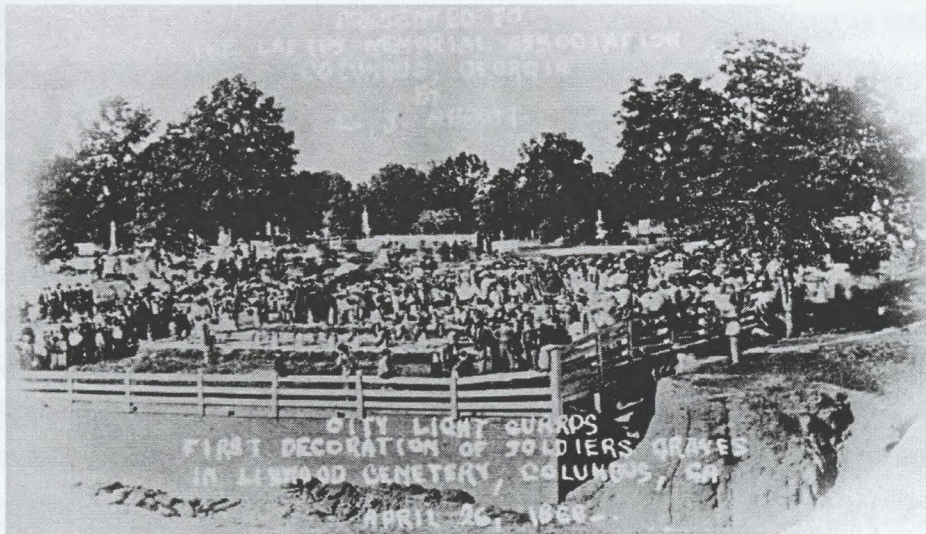
²⁸Avery, 242, 361. David W. Blight, "Decoration Days – The Origins of Memorial Day in North and South," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, Kindle Edition (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 105.

²⁹Avery, 715. *Origin of Memorial Day*, 18.

³⁰*Origin of Memorial Day*, 24-25.

A way in our country homes we can only deck the graves of the few who were brought from camps and hospitals to linger and die amongst us, but that we'll do with mournful pleasure, feeling that our sons and brothers are receiving the same marks of grateful respect at the hands of their countrywomen wherever the spot can be identified as a soldier's grave.³¹

The overall impression communicated in the published letter is one of collaboration and unity among all Southern (white) women.



Crowd at first Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies in Columbus, April 26, 1866.

Courtesy of Columbus State University Archives

Yearly celebrations of Confederate Memorial Day were recounted in the *Enquirer* and later in the *Enquirer-Sun* and the *Russell Register*, with articles before and after the ceremonies, as well as editorials marking the occasion. On the first documented Confederate Memorial Day in Columbus, the *Enquirer* reprinted on the front page a discussion from the *Charleston News* of the numbers of Confederate soldiers buried at that city's main cemeteries, which also reminded anyone who did not already know of the day's significance. As this was a morning paper, "The Ladies' Tribute to the Soldiers" on page 3 outlined the day's ceremonies ("they will meet in the morning, at 10 o'clock, at St. Luke's Church...and in the afternoon at 4 o'clock in the church yard, and go thence in procession to the cemetery"). In the pre-ceremony article, the writer went on in a mildly imperative tone asking readers to properly observe the day. In doing so, he articulated elements of the Lost Cause and defined the purpose, the necessary actions and the outcome of this collective memorializing: "Let our citizens generally unite in paying these

³¹ *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 31, 1866. Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 51. In fact, the Russell County letter writer must have heard about the Winchester fundraising through a newspaper such as the *Montgomery Mail*. Janney cites a letter there in 1866, which asks that "the editor publish the enclosed circular soliciting contributions for the Winchester LMA."

simple and tasteful, but inadequate, honors to men who, though the supporters of a lost and now derided cause, fell nobly and bravely discharging what they believed to be their duty to their country, to themselves and to their families."³² Paying homage to the memory of the heroic dead (although these tributes would never be enough) would bring together the community. In fact, their deaths should help unite not only those who mourned for the Lost Cause, but everyone in the community, regardless of their political leanings. "They sleep now where political or sectional strife can affect them no more, and where even late enemies can well afford to pay them the tribute due to heroic suffering and gallant deeds." A further important element, "the lost and now derided cause," reminded readers of the sacrificial element the whole community shared with the memorialized dead. The newspaper cooperatively added some polite social pressure: "The ladies respectfully request that the stores and other business houses be closed from 10 to 12 o'clock, and would be gratified if they could also be closed from four o'clock to sundown."³³ With the help of the press, the Ladies were testing and extending their influence. The next day's review would show that the pressure had worked.

The following day, along with several reprints from other newspapers of lists of Confederate dead in other parts of the South and a brief mention of Mrs. Jeff Davis, the *Enquirer* carried a detailed review of the previous day's "first annual" standing room only ceremonies in the downtown Methodist church with hymns and a speaker. Veteran Colonel James M. Ramsey, "the orator of the day, delivered, in his eloquent and stirring manner, a befitting eulogy of the gallant dead." Apparently the reporter did not arrive in time to get a good seat, as "we could not, from our position, hear the address very distinctly, but what we did hear satisfied us that the gifted orator performed the delicate task." After the church service, there was a procession to the cemetery where the women organizers "presented a beautiful pageant." The previous day's polite request to close businesses had been granted. The writer sums up the ceremonies as a "success" that "gives assurance that the day will long be observed as one of sacred obligation."³⁴

Compared to the descriptions of elaborate productions held a decade later, observance of the earliest event as well as the newspaper account of it the following day were "simple and tasteful," a phrase used in an 1866 *Enquirer* article. Regardless of how appropriate these rites appeared to Southerners, they were not always viewed as such by outsiders. In fact, the 1867 Reconstruction Acts were brought on in part by Southerners' "unrepentant" behavior as seen by Northerners, including memorial ceremonies and grave decoration. The laws were used to inhibit and prevent commemoration activities, especially processions, in major Southern cities.³⁵ Perhaps having heard of the anticipated suppression of larger Confederate memorial parades, Columbus' newspaper downplayed the next year's

³² *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 26, 1866.

³³ *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 26, 1866.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 69, 72-73.

Confederate Memorial Day's significance in a 3-sentence, 78-word notice, emphasizing the importance of the role of women: "To-day the ladies of Columbus will pay their annual tribute to the memory of the Confederate dead. They will, on this chosen anniversary, attest their grateful remembrance of the valor and the virtues of those who died in our hopeless struggle."³⁶

In 1869, however, though the newspaper article was low-key (titled only "Yesterday"), it seemed more so in order to suppress emotion than to evade reprisals by the Radical Reconstructionists. Businesses were "nearly all" closed and "thousands" were in attendance at the cemetery (present-day Linwood Cemetery). The *Enquirer* reporter composed the requisite language for memorialization, writing that the orator "spoke as a Confederate should speak," and acknowledged the newspaper's own part with the living and the dead to remember: "Though the cause was lost, and thousands of his comrades dead, the one was still dear, and the others should never perish while tongues can utter praise or pens immortalize deeds of highest heroism."³⁷

In the role of booster and pacesetter for Columbus' economic growth, just a year after the end of the war, the *Enquirer* politely pushed the town to keep up with Atlanta's progress on its monument, reminding Columbus citizens that since they (apparently) had had the idea first, they might also keep up with other cities in fund-raising for it:

"We notice that the ladies of Atlanta are bestirring themselves in the good work of erecting a monument to the Confederate dead buried there. They have appointed committees to solicit subscriptions, and are canvassing the city. We believe that a good beginning could now be made in this city towards raising the funds for such a monument in Columbus. The proposition to erect such a memorial to the honored dead *was* first suggested here, and we hope that our city, though sorely crippled by the war, will not be behind any others in carrying out the idea."³⁸

Ceremonies and celebrations in Columbus for the veterans and their Lost Cause grew more elaborate as the years passed. On the morning following Confederate Memorial Day in 1880, a three-column detailed recounting of the memorial day ritual and the address by Lionel C. Levy appeared in the *Enquirer-Sun*, titled "Southern Sabbath – Fifteenth Memorial Day," probably in recognition of Levy's Jewish heritage. Mother Nature, of course, recognized the meaning of the day: "The heavens seem to be impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and shroud the skies in black, before and after sprinkling us with tears." The day's long and elaborate exercises were attended by "very large" crowds including "about one hundred" who came to town by the excursion train, while "thousands thronged" to the

³⁶ *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 26, 1867.

³⁷ *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 27, 1869.

³⁸ *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, May 17, 1866. Though the date 1879 appears on the Confederate Monument on Broadway, it was not completed by the 1880 ceremonies.

cemetery.³⁹ The streets along the route must have been packed with several rows of onlookers. A full parade of at least three military companies with veteran commanders, city dignitaries, carriages holding officers of the Ladies' Memorial Association and the Eagle and Phenix brass band playing "very creditable music" traveled from Broad Street and St. Clair (now Broadway and Eleventh Street), to the not-yet-completed Confederate monument in the middle of Broad Street and then on to the opera house for Levy's oration. At the monument, "suspended on a chord [sic] reaching across the street were the Confederate, United States and Georgia flags. The Confederate flag was the one adopted on February 4th, 1865, and was procured after considerable trouble." Inside the opera house, Levy admitted to the crowd that he had been "a private from the ranks" in the Civil War. He would have been seventeen or eighteen at the end of the war. Appropriately, his melodramatic speech alluded to battles and generals, but included the personal and domestic, too. It swept between mildly titillating romance of "husbands [holding] fast in lingering, last embrace, devoted wives...in language all unutterable and tender" to the grandly public "martial music floating on the air, with nodding plumes and flaunting banners." After Levy's oration, the parade continued a little more than a mile to Linwood Cemetery where many Confederates had been buried.⁴⁰

In the same issue, an editorial, "The Confederate Anniversary," approved the ceremonies and commented with elegiac reverence on the passage of time:

"Fifteen anniversaries have passed and the last was characterized by the same enthusiasm as the first...Could the dead have re-visited the place of earth yesterday, they would have found their graves made fresh and beautified by loving hands, and their memories sweet and dear as when they donned the gray, and fought and bled and died for us..."⁴¹

Insisting that Columbusites could now embrace their lost Confederacy as well as their rejoined Union with no conflicts and without rebelling, the editor defended the flying of the Confederate flag alongside the official state and national flags with a selective view of history: "They are all our standards. If the politicians desire further to groan and make capital we may tell them the conquered banner floated as proudly as those of the union and our own commonwealth and that the 'rebels' were well pleased."⁴² He was confident that he spoke for all the townspeople – at least the voting ones and their wives.

³⁹ *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 27, 1880. Lionel Cadoza Levy (1847-1906) became a lawyer after his early stint in the Confederate army. His obituary in the *Enquirer-Sun*, September 6, 1906, went on at some length about his skills as a public speaker.

⁴⁰ *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 27, 1880.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

Seale's First Memorial Day

In April of the U.S. centennial, the *Russell Register's* section labeled "Visitor's Guide" gave times of church services and Masonic meetings, boasted a new train depot, and ran an announcement by Mr. B. Marsh Henry that he had leased the Seale House, a hotel located nearby: "Local and Transient patronage respectfully solicited."⁴³ The general tone of the year-old paper was lively and optimistic; exactly the way a paper ought to be for a community hoping to attract new businesses and residents (and new readers). The "large number of conveyances, mortgages, etc.," with fees due the Probate Judge Simeon O'Neal, probably indicated some risk taking on the part of business owners.



Masthead of the *Russell Register*, April 21, 1888.

Courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama

Although there is no newspaper evidence that Seale put on its own Memorial Day commemorative exercises until later years, this was no reflection on the depth of the residents' belief in the Lost Cause. On Confederate Memorial Day, townspeople made the trek to Columbus, Union Springs or other nearby towns on horse and buggy or by train.⁴⁴ If enough Russell County residents caught the train in Seale to exercises in Columbus, the railroad would discount tickets for that destination. The town may have been a bit deserted on some of the holidays. Activities were going on in April not only to the east in Muscogee County, but also in neighboring Bullock County, Alabama, to the west of Russell: "We understand there is to be a military Pic-Nic at Union Springs next Thursday. The train from [sic] Columbus pleasure seekers will pass Seale in the early a.m., and stop long enough to take on those who

⁴³ *Russell Register*, April 20, 1876; April 6, 1876; April 13, 1876.

⁴⁴ In a survey of several years in the 1880s and 1890s of late April and early May issues, I have found only a one-line acknowledgement at an odd time: *Russell Register*, April 21, 1888: "Last Thursday was memorial day." In the May 5, 1894 issue, a long description of a picnic held April 28 in Glennville makes no mention of Confederate Memorial Day, although the writer, William Henry Tucker, editor and co-owner, evidently enjoyed the party immensely, writing, "Yes it was a great day-- a very great day. When it comes to having a picnic, Glennville is 'strictly in it,' and when she has another we want to be 'in it.'"

are good enough looking and find it convenient to join them."⁴⁵ "Next Thursday" would be April 27, the day after memorial ceremonies in Columbus. April and May were "pic-nic" season, but a military picnic hints at a possible veterans' event just after Confederate Memorial Day.

Townpeople observing the holiday elsewhere may have neglected their own Confederate ancestors' graves in the Seale cemetery. In the first week of May 1893, a *Register* editorial complains about its unkempt condition.⁴⁶ A few years later the situation at the cemetery still had not improved. In February 1902, two months before the town's first Confederate celebrations, CSA veteran Peter Alexander Greene had his workers clean up the cemetery, as the *Register* gently reproved readers: "The people of this community should feel under lasting obligations to Mr. Greene for so kindly making these necessary improvements."⁴⁷

Meanwhile, as Mr. Greene was overseeing the cemetery cleanup, newly formed chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy organized substantial ceremonies in Seale and Hurtsboro.⁴⁸ The new James C. Cantey chapter organized an event held at the imposing county courthouse in Seale perched on a large central mound overlooking businesses, residences, churches and the town cemetery.⁴⁹ W.A. Bellamy, a prominent citizen and Confederate veteran opened the exercises. An officer of the UDC sang a Civil War song and then the orator, T.D. Samford, the son of the recently deceased Governor of Alabama (who was also a CSA veteran), spoke to the crowd.⁵⁰ Another Confederate officer awarded Crosses of Honor to thirteen veterans (whose names were not listed in the newspaper), two of whom had lost an arm in the war. Although the procession from the courthouse to the cemetery was only a few yards down the hill, the town was quite proud of having its own ceremony.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Russell Register*, April 20, 1876. The special train may have been for only those "who are good enough looking," in order to keep off African Americans and undesirable whites.

⁴⁶ *Russell Register*, May 6, 1893.

⁴⁷ *Russell Register*, February 21, 1902. Peter Alexander Greene had also solicited help with cleaning the Seale cemetery the year before (*Russell Register*, August 9, 1901).

⁴⁸ Mattie McAdory Huey, *History of the Alabama Division - United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Opelika, Ala.: The Post Publishing Company, 1937), 330-331. For the first time, the program for the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Alabama Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1902) lists officers and members of the James C. Cantey Chapter No 548—Seale and the Jefferson Davis Chapter—Hurtsboro. (Often spelled "Canty" in the 19th century, the modern spelling is "Cantey.") The Sons of Confederate Veterans Ben G. Jennings Camp, #433, was chartered in May of 1903.

⁴⁹ *History of the Alabama Division*, 330-331. The cemetery is now part of the Seale United Methodist Church.

⁵⁰ Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, Ill.: S.J. Clarke Publishing, 1921), 4:1491-1492. Thomas Drake Samford, born in 1868 in Lee County, was the son of Governor William James Samford, who had died the previous June. Governor Samford had enlisted in the Confederate army in 1862 at age 17 and spent much of the war in a Union prison. The younger Samford was a lawyer, U.S. district attorney and had served as the governor's private secretary.

⁵¹ *Russell Register*, May 2, 1902, "...all who attended and participated in the impressive and attractive ceremonies are congratulating themselves upon the pleasure derived from the occasion, while those who remained away are promising themselves that should the opportunity be afforded next year they will swiftly take advantage of it."



The Russell County Courthouse in Seale was the site of some of the largest commemorations of Confederate valor. Photo courtesy of the author

In the same issue, a member of the UDC chapter in Hurtsboro (a little over six miles to the west and south of Seale) reported on her town's first Memorial Day exercises. Mrs. J.H. Harbuck's description, including one of their honorees, "a courier and color-bearer in the sixties [who] belonged to Hampton's brigade; was pres[ent] at Appomattox, and had been kept busy all the morning carrying messages between Lee and Hampton," made the exercises vivid to newspaper readers who could not attend the services.⁵² The next day, the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun* reported on the Seale event noting, "Quite a revival of interest in those who wore the gray and in all things pertaining to the lost cause has been in progress for several months past, due mainly to the combined efforts of the Jas. Cantey [sic] Chapter of the UDC, and the Jas. F. Waddell Camp of Veterans."⁵³

Conclusion

With little hesitation, area newspapers collaborated with the elite white women and men of Columbus and the Chattahoochee Valley to publish and disseminate beliefs of the Lost Cause. The letter to the editor published in the *Enquirer* in 1866 from the "ladies of Alabama" serves several purposes for the women's organizations and for public memory. The letter's appearance in the newspaper has a documentary aspect to it, setting this information down for all time. It clarifies details that establish the historical reasons for the date. Mary Williams' letter, earlier suggesting a date for Confederate Memorial Day, never stated the reason for choosing the date of April 26, but the "Alabama" letter noted that it was the day that General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Sherman. The Alabama letter seconds the Williams letter, as if the writers and the women they represented were holding a Ladies' Memorial Association meeting in the pages of the newspaper, thus also presenting to other readers the semblance of unity and cooperation among the women's organizations of these two states and reiterating the pervasiveness of their beliefs.

By publishing letters to the editor in the newspaper, the Ladies laid a trail of documentation for the day itself and its purpose, for their role in first conceiving of and organizing a day of commemoration and as well as the appearance of widespread agreement among Southern women of this information.

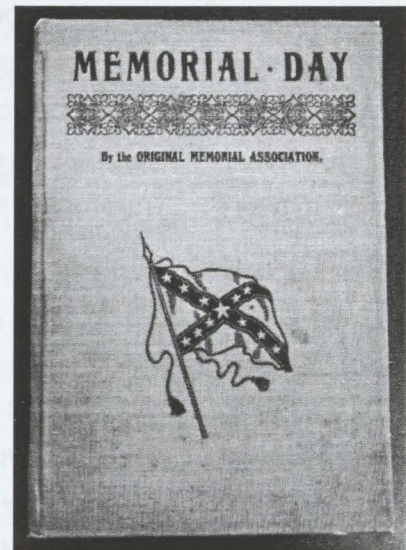
⁵² *Russell Register*, May 2, 1902.

⁵³ *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 27, 1902.

The newspaper's traditional legal authority acts as a public notice and further validates the ideas in the letters.⁵⁴ The commemoration of the heroic dead of the Lost Cause in the reverential manner they deserve is authenticated by publication in the newspaper, and then disseminated throughout the valley, guaranteeing its dispersal throughout the community.

Thirty years later, the same Ladies' Memorial Association, in concert with the Columbus chapter of the UDC, used even more legalistic language to establish that they were the first to organize the day.⁵⁵ In 1898, the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbus and the Columbus Chapter No. 60 Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy published a book to document their role as the leader in the organization and observance of Confederate Memorial Day. Several founding members gave notarized affidavits of their memory of how Confederate Memorial Day was first conceived. Every step of the thought process was carefully documented in order to prove that they -- and especially Mrs. Lizzie Rutherford Ellis -- were "the mother to the thought."⁵⁶

The cover of *A History of the Origin of Memorial Day as Adopted by the Ladies Memorial Association of Columbus, Ga., and Presented to the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy*. Courtesy of the A.S. Williams III Collection, The University of Alabama



On Memorial Day 1898, like courtroom attorneys, the ladies "took formal action on the proof of the origin of the day as recorded in their minutes, and authorized the reading of the history...This formal action was expressed in a resolution, in which was stated the authenticity of the proof of the facts. The resolution, affidavits and letter of Mrs. [Mary] Williams, together with the history of the day" were published as if legally binding.⁵⁷ Further, the ladies of the

⁵⁴ Ch. 14 at 2, 1 Stat. 68 (1789). For more about the history of newspapers as legal bulletin boards for public notices, see Shannon E. Martin, "Record Newspapers, Legal Notice Laws and Digital Technology Solutions," *Information and Communication Technology Law*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1999: 59-69.

⁵⁵ The need in Columbus and other Southern cities to call dibs on which town observed the Confederate holy day first followed quickly on the heels of organizing the day itself. Blight, "Decoration Days," 94, notes the development of competitiveness among groups to have been the first place of celebration. He establishes that an African American and white (former abolitionists) celebration of Memorial Day in Charleston in 1865 was the earliest occasion.

⁵⁶ *Origin of Memorial Day*, 5. The text goes on, "That future generations may know the truth as to the origin of the beautiful custom, this volume, under the auspices of the Chapter of the U. D. C., is given to the world."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

Columbus Chapter No. 60 renamed themselves the "Lizzie Rutherford Chapter" in honor of her contribution.⁵⁸

As vehicles for public memory, newspapers and other public documents (and the people who wrote them) helped define, establish and promulgate beliefs about the Lost Cause of the elite white ruling class in the Chattahoochee River Valley region. As a recording place for public and legal notices, newspapers also functioned in the community in a quasi-legal capacity, reinforcing their role as objective truth tellers. Thus, public memory, whether accurate or not, was given heightened credibility merely by being published in the newspaper. In this way, ideas of the mythical Lost Cause gained validity and social acceptability as well as the appearance of widespread community agreement, beyond elite white citizenry to Chattahoochee Valley society at large.

⁵⁸ However, arguments continue today bolstered by national media attention, over which Southern city deserves credit for being the first to celebrate any Memorial Day, Confederate or otherwise: "Birthplace of Memorial Day? That Depends Where You're From," *New York Times*, May 27, 2012, accessed November 11, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/27/us/many-claim-to-be-memorial-day-birthplace.html>.

How Columbus Lost the Last Battle of the Civil War

By Daniel A. Bellware



Historical marker commemorating the Battle of Columbus. Photo courtesy of the author

This is not an analysis of the Battle of Columbus, fought on April 16, 1865. Instead, it is an analysis of how Columbus lost its claim to be the "Last Battle of the Civil War" and how the attempts to secure the superlative may have been the ultimate undoing of that effort. The opposing forces in this battle were local residents, fighting for recognition against the federal government in the form of the War Department and the National Park Service (NPS). The sesquicentennial of the battle may have come and gone but the question remains.¹

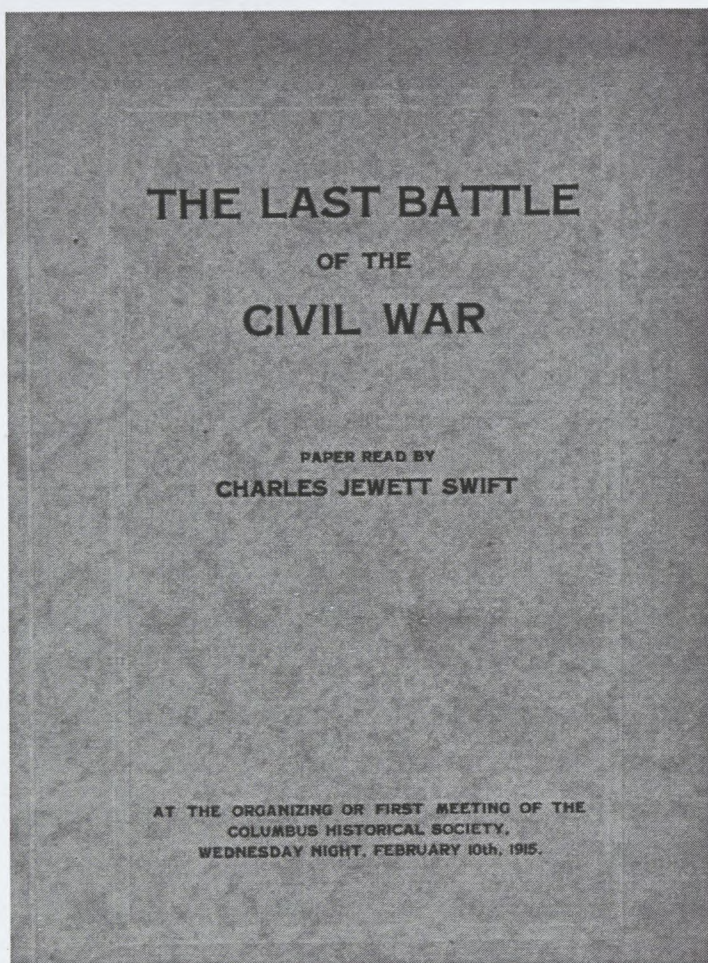
The quest for official recognition of the Battle of Columbus started over one hundred years ago. Several citizens had sought some sort of commemoration of the battle. Local historian Charles Jewett Swift tried to get a monument describing the event erected in 1901.² Columbus mayor Lucius H. Chappell sought a National Park for the battlefield in 1904.³ But, F.C. Carmicle, the Chief of the Record and Pension Office of the War Department, refused to recognize the action as the last engagement of the

¹ Virginia Causey, "The last battle?," *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, April 12, 2015, B1.

² Charles Jewett Swift, "At Alabama End of New Bridge, Scene of Last Battle of the War, Erect Suitably Inscribed Tablet," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, October 17, 1901, 3.

³ "To Mark The Battleground," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, February 21, 1904, 11.

waror even a battle.⁴ Hopes were raised when Swift published his paper, "The Last Battle of the Civil War," in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* in 1915.⁵ It seemed that the effort was turning a corner but no further recognition was forthcoming. Finally, Congressman Bryant T. Castellow picked up the quest and in 1934 the director of the NPS, Arno B. Cammerer, responded. In a letter to Castellow, Cammerer refers to the "battle" of Columbus but states "there is no positive standard to determine just how large or small an engagement of troops must be to justify its classification as a battle."⁶



Swift's article about the Battle of Columbus was later bound as a separate publication after its presentation at the organizing of the Columbus Historical Society in 1915. Original from University of Michigan Library. Accessed October 17, 2015: <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp39076005001990>. Courtesy of HathiTrust

⁴ "Neither City Gets the Honor," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 6, 1904, 8.

⁵ Charles Jewett Swift, "The Last Battle of the Civil War," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, Vol. LVI, Military Service Institution, Governors Island, N.Y., 1915, 358.

⁶ Arno B. Cammerer letter to Bryant Castellow. Alva C Smith Collection, MC 34 Box 39, Folder 12, Columbus State University Archives, Columbus, Georgia.

Arno Cammerer, Director of the National Park Service in the 1930s.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress



A report of the research staff of the historical division at the NPS had no such difficulty. It went into much greater detail than the director in what was surely meant to be the final word on the matter.⁷ Unfortunately, for over three-quarters of a century, it has been.

All that the local boosters were trying to do was to get recognition for the last major engagement of the Civil War. This engagement was the last time that major generals opposed one another on the battlefield. It was also the last time that combatants, numbering in the thousands, engaged in armed conflict during the war. Whether it is technically a battle or the very last shot fired is not important to the layman. The determination to use the words "last" and "battle" may have been the undoing of the enterprise. It is not hard to imagine a layman shortening the moniker of "last major engagement" to "last battle," but that may not have occurred to the proponents.

The research staff at the NPS attacked the characterization of Columbus as the location of the last battle in their forty-five-page report. They went to great lengths to describe what constitutes both an army and a battle. Each point of the argument for the recognition as the last battle was discredited with an abundance of evidence used to controvert the simple idea that the last major military engagement of the Civil War took place in Columbus, Georgia. The staff made several mistakes along the way. They referred to the Confederate flag as the "Stars and Bars" no fewer than five times. The "Stars and Bars" was the first national flag of the Confederate States of America and its use was discontinued in 1863 with the adoption of the "Stainless Banner," which itself was discontinued in 1865. The third and final national flag known as the "Blood-Stained Banner" was adopted that year. It is not clear but they may actually be referring to the Confederate battle flag. They also misstated the date of Lee's surrender at Appomattox as April 10 instead of April 9. This fact would have been very easy to verify, even in the 1930s. They concluded the report by siding with Jefferson Davis and recognizing a lesser engagement as the "Last Battle of the Civil War." Their conclusion contradicted their own definitions of what constitutes an army or a battle, as the skirmish at Palmito Ranch in Texas gets their nod for the superlative.

⁷ "Columbus, Was It the Last Battle of the Civil War?" Report of the Research Staff, Historical Division, National Park Service, Alva C Smith Collection, MC 34 Box 39, Folder 12, Columbus State University Archives, Columbus, Georgia. It should be noted that this report, in the possession of the Columbus State University Archives, bears no author or date. But, for the sake of argument, it will be assumed to be genuine and the authorship will be attributed as it has been in other works.

The crux of the argument is that what happened at Columbus was not a battle and that it was not the last engagement of the war. The staff at the NPS was not alone in this conclusion. F.C. Carmicle of the War Department had similarly weighed in on the question thirty years before and found no engagement worthy of the designation "battle."⁸ However, there are other examples of lesser engagements whose status has been elevated to battles by both the War Department and NPS which invalidate those conclusions.

Carmicle based his conclusion on the fact that the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion listed the engagement as an "action" as opposed to a "battle" or "skirmish."⁹ The difference between the three is likely lost on the layman. All refer to armed military engagements with the details of the individual engagement being the deciding factor to the military-minded observer. The NPS report was ignored by many who continued to advocate for a national park or monument to commemorate the last battle. Less than a year later an American Legion post in Phenix City secured promises to introduce a resolution in the Alabama Senate to ask Congress to create a national park and peace monument on Ingersoll Hill, location of much of the fighting during the last battle.¹⁰ A similar bill was introduced in the Georgia House a week later, with the backing of the Columbus Chamber of Commerce, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs, and the Central Labor Union.¹¹ The Jaycees weighed in with their own plans for the monument in 1940.¹² All of these organizations ignored the NPS report, but they all failed in their own right.

In their summary, the NPS staff made three points. First, they note that there were additional armed conflicts after the action at Columbus. Second, the flag of the Confederacy was not permanently lowered after April 16, 1865. Finally, the outcome of the Battle of Columbus did not influence the decision of Johnston to surrender.¹³ These points have little bearing on whether or not Columbus was the last major engagement of the war. The same can be said of the report's foreword, which highlights two incorrect claims. The first, by Charles Jewett Swift, was that "the life of the Confederacy went out" on April 16, 1865 (it did not). The second was from Jefferson Davis, stating that the expedition of May 11, 1865, was the "the last armed conflict of the War" (it was not). The report later accused the proponents of this thesis of being biased in their opinion, although in the end the NPS deferred to Jefferson Davis who most certainly was.

In Part I of the report, the staff of the NPS used more than ten pages to deal with the suppositions of General Emory Upton, Major General James H. Wilson, and Charles J. Swift that Columbus

⁸ "Neither City Gets the Honor"

⁹ The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate armies. Series 1 - Volume 49 (Part I), <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu> accessed October 3, 2014.

¹⁰ "Solons Will Support Park," *Columbus Enquirer*, February 26, 1935, 5.

¹¹ "Senate Given Memorial Bill," *Columbus Enquirer*, March 5, 1935, 8

¹² "Phenix City Jaycees Finish Plans to Erect Memorial Tower on Ingersoll Hill," *Sunday Ledger-Enquirer*, May 26, 1940, 10.

¹³ "Columbus, Was It the Last Battle of the Civil War?" 1.

was the last battle. Upton calls it the "closing conflict of the war" in his report in the Official Records.¹⁴ Wilson called it the "last battle of the War" in a letter to Swift. Swift later published a paper to that effect. The NPS found the Union generals biased in their opinions, as they participated in the conflict. It then took Swift's rhetorical flourish to task in comparing the Battle of Columbus to that of Lexington and Concord and attacked the idea that Swift was redefining the word "battle." The NPS used the small skirmishes that followed the Columbus engagement as proof that the war hadn't ended as Upton and Wilson had supposed. They regarded a letter of General Wilson from 1913 that credited the devastation of Selma and Columbus for shortening the war as folly because Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston was unaware of the activity while negotiating the truce with Union General William T. Sherman that took his Confederate army out of the war.¹⁵ The NPS then determined that Lexington, the opening battle of the Revolutionary War, in common parlance, did not meet the definition of a battle either.

In Part II, the NPS took more than eight pages to deal with whether or not Columbus could even be considered a battle. They referred to Clausewitz and Fochs to show that a battle must be between armies, not subdivisions of an army and must be for the sole purpose of a decisive victory, not a secondary objective. Unfortunately, their arguments did not stand the test of time. They correctly asserted that the Official Records contain no battles in Wilson's entire raid. However, there are examples from both the War Department and the NPS that disagree with this assessment.

One well-known example occurred in 1876. Little Bighorn was designated a battlefield as far back as December 1886 when the War Department proclaimed it the National Cemetery of Custer's Battlefield Reservation (now called Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument). The 7th Cavalry certainly does not meet their definition of an army; it is only a regiment. Therefore, the engagement known as the "Battle of the Little Bighorn" does not meet the NPS definition of a battle as given in the report on Columbus. A lesser-known example is Bear Paw Battlefield, part of Big Hole National Battlefield Park near Chinook, Montana. Big Hole Battlefield National Monument was established in 1910 by the War Department. It was subsequently expanded during Cammerer's administration.¹⁶ The battle at Bear Paw in 1877 was commonly described as the "last battle" of the Nez Perce War.¹⁷ The Nez Perce War consisted of several "battles" that pitted the some 250 warriors and about twice that many women and children against various companies of U.S. Cavalry. According to the NPS, these antagonists would not be armies. As with the Confederates at Columbus, not all the Nez Perce surrendered at their last battle. Some were later

¹⁴The United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series One, Volume 49 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 475.

¹⁵Charles Jewett Swift, *The Last Battle of the Civil War* (Columbus, Ga.: Gilbert Printing Co., 1915).

¹⁶National Park Service, "Administration under Yellowstone National Park, Early Years (1936-1956)," accessed September 22, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/biho/adhi/adhi4.htm.

¹⁷"Make the Spot A National Park," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 30, 1902, 3.

captured during other small engagements in 1878.¹⁸ This reinforces the likelihood that the NPS may have been overly strict in its interpretation of what is considered a last battle.

Finally, in Part III, the NPS took more than seventeen pages to determine if Wilson's Raid was actually a campaign. Of course, the raid came up lacking. But, if characterized simply as the last major engagement of the war, the argument is moot. The NPS picked apart ancillary aspects of the case. Was the flag furled forever? Was it the last shot fired? The authors of the report went to great pains to define what qualified as a battle or an army and always the Columbus action comes up short. But, if the NPS did not live up to its own definitional purity, why should Columbus? In the end, the NPS agreed with Jefferson Davis that the Confederate victory in the skirmish at Palmito Ranch on May 13, 1865, is the final engagement. The skirmish at Palmito Ranch is even less of a battle than Columbus. There were certainly no armies and no battle by NPS's own definition. Only a few hundred combatants fought in the skirmish, and were led by no one higher in rank than a colonel on either side. The report's own appendix showed it was followed by several other skirmishes. By May of 1865, the Confederacy was dissolved and its president, Jefferson Davis, had been captured. In fact, President Andrew Johnson had declared the war on land over on May 9, 1865.¹⁹ This was nothing more than the mopping up of a band of former Confederate soldiers.²⁰ Jefferson Davis cited this skirmish as the last battle so he could bookend the war with Confederate victories: "It deserves notice as having closed the long struggle as it opened – with a Confederate victory."²¹ Confederate sympathizers are still only too happy to go along with his assessment.

What would cause the NPS to side with Davis? It is hard to say. Cammerer's findings might be attributed to "outdated" attitudes on race. He was not southern by birth, though. His parents were not slaveholders but German immigrants who arrived after the Civil War.²² What reason would he or his staff have to advocate Davis' position in the argument? Maybe they thought Davis was unbiased and as good a source as any in the debate. There is evidence that Cammerer's attitude towards race was more in line with Davis than his employer's. To be sure, Cammerer did not appear to be an overt, cross-burning racist but something more subtle. Some might even say that he was "a man of his times." But it is noted by the NPS that he ran afoul of the progressive ways of his boss, Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes.

¹⁸ "A Brave Indian Squaw," *New York Times*, June 17, 1878; "The Disaffected Savages," *New York Times*, August 6, 1878.

¹⁹ "Monthly Record of Current Events," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 31, issue 181 (June 1865), 125.

²⁰ Marvel, William, "Battle of Palmetto Ranch: American Civil War's Final Battle" June 12, 2006. Accessed October 3, 2014, <http://www.historynet.com/battle-of-palmetto-ranch-american-civil-wars-final-battle.htm>.

²¹ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, vol. 2 (New York, N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1881), 699.

²² 1900 U.S. Census, 1900, Rock County, Wisconsin, accessed at <http://ubalt.libguides.com/content.php?pid=424692&sid=3473088>

Cammerer was slow to embrace the desegregation of the National Parks as advocated by Ickes and it eventually cost him his job.²³

Based on the NPS analysis, many have been wary to call the engagement in Columbus a battle, much less the last one. The result has been that many people have considered the Battle of Columbus a non-event for over eighty years when, in fact, Easter Sunday, April 16, 1865, was arguably the single most important day in the history of Columbus. It was an economic disaster with raw materials, finished goods, and production facilities destroyed, taking years to recover. It was Emancipation Day for the African American population who awoke that morning as slaves and went to bed that night freemen. The Battle of Columbus changed the social fabric of the city forever. It was the last major military engagement of the Civil War, regardless of its impact on Confederate decision making or the furling of flags.

²³ National Parks Service, "Segregation/Desegregation," accessed August 3, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/shen/historyculture/segregation.htm>.

Official Reports by Federal Forces Concerning the Battle of Columbus

Edited by Mike Bunn

The official reports of the Federal forces that captured Columbus on April 16, 1865, are some of our best sources of information on the battle and the destruction that occurred in its aftermath. This is true not only because of the detailed nature of after-action reports, but also because of the fact that in the confusion of the defeat, no official Confederate reports were ever filed. Included below are portions of reports filed at the conclusion of the campaign which included the capture of Columbus by General James H. Wilson, overall commander of the Federal troops, Colonel John W. Noble of the Third Iowa Cavalry, and Lieutenant Colonel John W. Peters of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry. Also included are reports by General Edward F. Winslow on the destruction of the CSS *Jackson* and the Confederate industrial complex at Columbus.

Report of General James H. Wilson

Hdqrs. Cavalry Corps, Mil. Div. of the Mississippi,
Macon, Ga., June 29, 1865



General James H. Wilson
Courtesy of the Library of Congress

"...About 2 p.m. of the 16th General Upton's advance, a part of Alexander's brigade, struck the enemy's pickets on the road and drove them rapidly through Girard to the lower bridge over the Chattahoochee at Columbus. The rebels hastily set fire to it and thereby prevented its capture. After securing a position on the lower Montgomery road General Upton detached a force to push around to the bridge at the factory three miles above the city. He then made a reconnaissance in person and found the enemy

strongly posted in a line of works covering all the bridges, with a large number of guns in position on both sides of the river. He had already determined to move Winslow's brigade to the Opelika or Summerville road and assault the works on that side without waiting for the arrival of the Second Division. I reached the head of Winslow's brigade, of the Fourth Division, at 4 o'clock, and found the troops marching to the positions assigned them by General Upton. Through an accident Winslow did not arrive at his position till after dark, but General Upton proposed to make the assault in the night, and coinciding with him in judgment I ordered the attack. Three hundred men of the Third Iowa Cavalry, Colonel Noble commanding, were dismounted, and after a slight skirmish moved forward and formed

across the road under a heavy fire of artillery. The Fourth Iowa and Tenth Missouri were held in readiness to support the assaulting party. At 8 p.m., just as the troops were ready, the enemy at a short distance opened a heavy fire of musketry, and with a four-gun battery began throwing canister and grape. Generals Upton and Winslow in person directed the movement. The troops dashed forward, opened a withering fire from their Spencers, pushed through a slashing and abatis, and pressed the rebel line back to their out-works, supposed at first to be the main line. During all this time the rebel guns threw out a perfect storm of canister and grape, but without avail. General Upton sent two companies of the Tenth Missouri, Captain McGlasson commanding, to follow up the success of the dismounted men and get possession of the bridge. They passed through the inner line of works, and under cover of darkness, before the rebels knew it, had reached the bridge leading into Columbus. As soon as everything could be got up to the position occupied by the dismounted men General Upton pressed forward again, swept away all opposition, took possession of the foot and railroad bridges, and stationed guards throughout the city. Twelve hundred prisoners, 52 field guns in position for use against us, large quantities of arms and stores fell into our hands. Our loss was only 24 killed and wounded. Col. C. A. L. Lamar, of General Cobb's staff, formerly owner of the *Wanderer*, slave trader, was killed. The splendid gallantry and steadiness of General Upton, Brevet Brigadier-General Winslow, and all the officers and men engaged in this night attack is worthy of the highest commendation. The rebel force was over 3,000 men. They could not believe they had been dislodged from their strong fortifications by an attack of 300 men. When it is remembered that this operation gave to us the city of Columbus, the key to Georgia, 400 miles from our starting point, and that it was conducted by cavalry, without any inspiration from the great events which had transpired in Virginia, it will not be considered insignificant, although shorn of its importance. General Winslow was assigned to the command of the city. His report will give interesting details in regard to the stores, railroad transportation, gun-boats, armories, arsenals, and workshops destroyed...

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. H. Wilson,

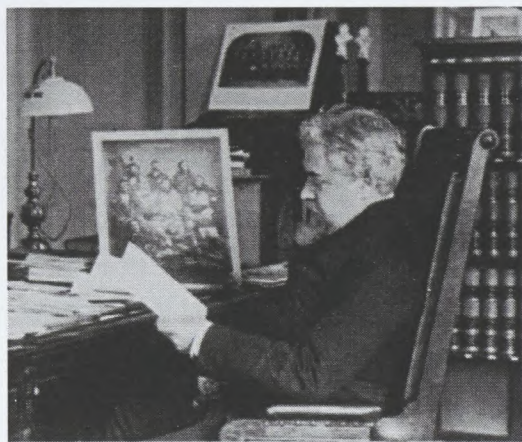
Brevet Major-General"¹

¹The United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series One, Volume 49 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 363-364.

Report of Colonel John W. Noble, Third Iowa Cavalry

Hdqrs. Third Iowa Veteran Volunteer Cavalry

Macon, Ga., April 23, 1865



Colonel Noble in his later years.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress

".....Marching daily, we arrived before the defenses of Columbus, on the right bank of the Chattahoochee River, at 2 p.m. of April 16. We were first prepared to fight on foot with the rest of the brigade in rear of the Second Brigade, then in position. After this, and about 3 p.m., we again mounted and moved to the extreme right of the rebel line, halting on the way for about two hours, and finally dismounting for action after dark and within musket-range of the rebel line. The six companies of this regiment present (A, B, C, D, I, K) were the only force dismounted at this time for the assault upon the batteries [and] entrenchments. The rebel lines extended in part across the Summerville road, and thence south toward the river and the city beyond, along this road, so as to command the same at short range, something like a letter L, with the short arm advanced and lying across the road, while the main line extended parallel to the road and to the bridge across the river. At the extremity of the short arm was a well-constructed fort (no guns being in position, however) flanked by well-constructed rifle-pits running nearly east across the road, and nearly to another fort at the elbow or angle of the works. In this latter fort were four 12-pounder cannon, well manned and skillfully handled, and the battery was supported by the veterans of all the army in our front. The works were manned to the bridge, and near the bridge were two battalions more, one in the road and one in a large fort to the right of the road. This infantry force was well acquainted with all the ground round about, while our attack with six companies, dismounted, was in complete darkness and without a glimpse beforehand of the locality. The detachment of this regiment was first formed dismounted in line facing the fort and breast-works composing the short arm or curtain to the main line, the left of our line resting on the road. This was near 8 p.m. As the last of the line gained position, the enemy opened with a heavy musketry fire on our immediate front, and with two guns (12-pounders) on our left. We went forward at once with a cheer under the heavy fire and cleared the works and the fort, crossing the road and without delay formed the line beyond. This was the opening of the battle, and a decided success. In this first assault the right of the detachment had swept around to the front slightly, and on being halted the new position was a line somewhat oblique to the main line of the enemy. We were ordered to remain there for the time. Two mounted companies Tenth Missouri Cavalry now charged furiously down the main road

leading to the bridge over the Chattahoochee River. This charge was gallantly made, but drew from the fort and rifle-pits, now on our left and left rear, a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. My detachment was now ordered to go for this battery, upon which I gave the command so as to make a left wheel of the whole line. The ground over which this evolution had to be performed was very much broken, but the officers and men went forward with a cheer, passing in the profound darkness over fences, ditches, and sloughs, with no other guide than the light and roar of the rebels' fire. Generals Upton and Winslow were present and shared with us the dangers of this hotly contested field. Crossing the Summerville road our line entered the woods beyond, and came within very short musket-range of the troops and battery. These woods were open and descended into a deep hollow, with an almost impassable swamp at the bottom, and immediately beyond on the opposite hill was an abatis of pines pointed outward from the works and with the limbs broken, sharpened, and interlaced. In the darkness and owing to the difficulties of the ground a considerable portion of this detachment under General Upton oblique to the right, and only a few men made the attack upon the immediate front of the battery. Pushing on, however, the right of the line, consisting of parts of nearly, if not quite, all of the companies engaged, gained a lodgment on the work south of the fort. Considerable portions of Companies A, B, and I, under Captains Wilson, McKee, and Arnim, took captive the rebels at an intermediate point of the entrenchments, seizing the garrison flag of the post, Sergeant Birdsall, Company B, gaining this trophy. Captain McKee also advanced with a mere handful of men toward the fort still firing on the left and took a number more prisoners, with which he returned without reaching the fort. The rebels contending here were reserve veterans, but had thus been broken by our unsupported but unhesitating charge. In the meantime it is due to the men who made the immediate attack on the front of the fort to say that they bore themselves most bravely under the close and continuous fire of musketry and cannon to which they were subjected. Twelve of the men who were wounded in the engagement fell on this part of the field, and had it not been for the darkness and the smallness of our force here our loss would have been very severe. Finding the left too weak to take the fort, I so reported to General Upton, and was ordered to let the fort go and hold the entrenchments. My men kept, therefore, the portion gained, and the other troops of the brigade having been brought into action passed over the remainder of the entrenchments to the bridge. The fire of the battery ceased eventually and I collected my companies to mount them, sending a platoon to the fort and intermediate points to collect the wounded and dead. As soon as we got our horses, we advanced with the rest of the brigade over the bridge, now ours. Lieutenant Forker, Company B, with the platoon, found the guns in the fort loaded, but the enemy fled. He was the first officer of ours there, so that, having carried the supports of the battery, seized the garrison flag, and finally reached the guns in position, my regiment claims the honor of having captured this (Clanton's) battery, and also to have broken the lines of the enemy in two successive charges against veteran troops, entrenched and supported by a heavy battery in position and well handled. The loss of the detachment of the regiment engaged was Captain Miller, Company D, and 2 enlisted men killed, and 17 enlisted men wounded. A list

of names and rank is given in the annexed exhibit. Captain Miller fell in the assault upon the first line of works, a shell passing through his side. He truly died, as his last words on the field expressed, "like a Christian and a soldier." My superior officers who joined my command in this night attack upon the heavily manned fortifications of the enemy, have expressed its merits as a military achievement to be of the highest and most honorable character, and I have no doubt will so report officially. I deem the conduct of Captain McKee and Captain Wilson in gaining the works and holding them as worthy of particular mention. I have also to state that Private Tibbets, Company I, captured the battle-flag of Austin's battery in this assault, and is entitled to that credit. This trophy bears on its folds the fields of Belmont, Shiloh, Chickamauga, Farmington, Perryville, and Murfreesborough. For their services and as a mark of distinction my command was made provost guard of Columbus, and went on duty at 10 o'clock of the night of the assault in perfect order. During my performance of the duties of provost-marshal here I seized and destroyed the bulk of the type, forms, paper, ink, and some of the press of the *Memphis Appeal*, and put Dill, one of the proprietors, under bond. This defiant rebel sheet had fled before our arms from Memphis to Grenada, Miss. then to Jackson, Miss. then to Atlanta, Ga., then to Montgomery, Ala., and finally to Columbus, Ga., where it was found in the basement of the Perry House and burnt in the street. We left Columbus at 10 a.m. of 18th of April. Marching on the main Macon road, this command reached this place without further incident on the afternoon of the 21st instant...

John W. Noble,
Colonel, Commanding"²

Report of Lieutenant Colonel John H. Peters, Fourth Iowa Cavalry

Hdqrs. Fourth Iowa Cavalry
Macon, Ga., April 22, 1865

"...Making rapid marches, our division (the Fourth) arrived opposite Columbus, Ga., alone on the 16th of April at 2 p.m. After reaching a point on the extreme left of the enemy's works and just out of the reach of his guns, the brigade was halted for about twenty minutes, then moved by a circuitous and concealed route to the front of the enemy's right, and took a position near the main road leading to the only remaining bridge over the Chattahoochee, awaiting, in columns of four, orders to charge the enemy and gain possession of the bridge. During this interval of about thirty minutes we were in easy range of the guns in the enemy's fort on our left, which continued to pay us their compliments, in the shape of shot

²Ibid., 491-495.

and shell, but with no other damage than wounding 1 man and killing 1 horse. I was then ordered to move forward at a walk, and upon reaching a point directly opposite the fort just spoken of as being on my left. Brevet Major-General Upton ordered me to dismount a part of the regiment. The First Battalion, under Captain Abraham, and the Second, under Captain Newell B. Dana, were dismounted, and the Third Battalion, Major Dee, ordered to remain mounted and await orders. The dismounted column moved down the road about 150 yards and after deploying one company charged the enemy's works on the left of the road, clearing the line. Here the column turned to the right and at the double-quick moved down the line of entrenchments on the principal fort, running over scores of the enemy and paying no attention to prisoners. Approaching this fort, the whole dismounted force, consisting of Companies A, D, K, C, I, F, and L, were deployed in line and at once charged the works and carried them. The fort was well garrisoned by about 250 men and mounted six guns, four others being planted immediately on its right, which were taken at the same time by the left of the line. A few men were left to hold the fort, and the line pushed forward to the bridge. Sharp fighting took place between the fort and the river, and upon reaching the bridge a portion of our men, mingling in the darkness with the fleeing enemy, rushed over it and captured two guns commanding the passage from the east end. The Third Battalion now came up mounted, and moving over the bridge, charged through the city, still full of the fleeing enemy, and marched to the railroad, but too late to capture the train of cars. It captured, however, a large number of prisoners who up to the time they were ordered to surrender confidently supposed that the Yankees were yet on the other side of the river. First Lieutenant S. N. Miller, Company L, commanding Company I, was the first officer over the bridge. He was closely followed by Lieuts. S. O. Black, Company L, and L. H. Dillon, Company C. Sergt. Joseph H. Jones, Company L, was seriously wounded after crossing the bridge and while fighting for the guns commanding the passage. The guns and gunners were taken, thus gaining full possession of the bridge, to gain which was the victory...I am unable to report accurately the number of prisoners taken at Columbus, but from the reports of the officers engaged I place it at 941, including 67 commissioned officers. We captured also 8 battle-flags, 12 pieces of artillery, and 8 caissons. The loss of the regiment was 1 man killed. Private Nathan Beezley, of Company I, and 10 men wounded, 4 seriously and 6 slightly.

Respectfully submitted.

J. H. Peters,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Fourth Iowa Cavalry"³

³Ibid., 498-499.

Report of General Edward F. Winslow on destruction of the CSS Jackson

Columbus, Ga., April 18, 1865



General Edward F. Winslow

From *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment*

"Major: I have the honor to submit the following brief account of the gun-boat *Jackson* destroyed at this point yesterday:

This vessel was intended to be one of the most powerful steamers in the West, and would, if fully completed, have been a formidable antagonist for our river gun-boats or rams. She was about 250 feet in length on deck and about forty feet wide; when fully completed would have drawn from six and a half to seven and a half feet of water; was constructed of live oak; hull two feet thick, with ram of fifteen feet solid oak. The face of the deck was to have been about three and a half feet above water line, but her engines and boilers were below this line. The engines (two) were made here, and were very fine ones; cylinder thirty-six inches and stroke three feet; double connected; four boilers. The armor, which extended just below the water line, was rolled at Atlanta in slabs about six inches wide and two inches thick. These were put on perpendicularly, being curved over the edge of the deck and fastened with bolts two inches in diameter and about two feet apart. The plating was double, breaking joints, and therefore four inches thick. Shot from other vessels could not strike the armor at right angles to its face. The battery consisted of six 7-inch rifled Parrott guns, made at Richmond, Va., and splendidly mounted and finished. They were placed on the main deck, and the gun-room was pyramidal in form, about forty feet long, and twenty feet wide on top. Armor same as on main part of the vessel. There were ten port-holes the two guns aft and the two forward so arranged that they could be used broadside, making the battery three guns on each side when necessary. This gun-room was about nine feet above deck (from floor to roof) and the pilot-house was raised about two feet above the top of gun-room, heavily plated, sloping sides and ends. The pilot was thus in the gunroom. The engines and boilers were immediately under the guns. There were three hatches, one forward and two aft the gun-room. The boat was to be moved by one screw propeller seven and a half feet in diameter. Lieutenant McLaughlin has been engaged nearly if not quite three years in constructing this vessel, and I am informed she would have been ready for active service in two weeks or about the 1st of May. The gun-room armor was not in place, but the engines,

boilers and quite a supply of ammunition were on board. When in flames the cables were parted and the gun-boat *Muscogee*, alias *Jackson*, floated away to complete destruction. This description is not scientific, but the result of personal observation, sustained by statements of some mechanics who were employed near the navy-yard. It is of course incomplete, and may be in error in some particulars, but I thought it might be of interest in lack of any better one. A small torpedo-boat went down river the day before the capture of this point. She is new and in readiness for active duty.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

E. F. Winslow,

Brevet Brigadier-General, Commanding Post⁴

Report of General Edward F. Winslow on Confederate property captured and destroyed at Columbus

Major E. B. Beaumont,

Asst. Adjt. General, Cavalry Corps, Mil. Div. of the Mississippi

Columbus, Ga., April 18, 1865

"Major: Having been assigned to the command of this city, I have the honor to make the following report of property captured and destroyed, in obedience to orders from the brevet major-general commanding corps:

Fountain Warehouse: Six thousand bales C. S. A. cotton.

Alabama Warehouse: Seven thousand bales C. S. A. cotton, 100 boxes of tobacco, 20 hogsheads and 100 barrels sugar, and other commissary stores.

Near Macon Railroad depot: Three large warehouse containing 20,000 sacks of corn, an immense amount of quartermaster's property, commissary stores, and valuable machinery, all in readiness for shipment. A large number of caissons and limbers, generally unserviceable; 100 bales of cotton; also 13 locomotives, 10 passenger, 45 box, 24 flat, and 9 coal cars; 1 round-house and machine-shop.

Naval Armory: One small rolling-mill in operation—1 engine, 40-horse-power; 1 blast engine, 8-horsepower; 2 sets of rollers, and 3 furnaces, capable of making 4,000 pounds of iron per day. One new

⁴Ibid., p. 485.

rolling-mill nearly completed—one 150-horsepower engine, intended to roll railroad and boiler-plate iron; 3 large furnaces; 1 blast engine, 10-horsepower; one 10-horsepower steam-hammer. This building was 150 feet square. One machine-shop—2 engines, 45-inch cylinder, nearly completed, 160 feet shafting; 3 small and 2 large planers; 16 iron lathes; 1 large lathe; 7 feet face plate; 3 drill-presses; 30 vises; 15,000 pounds brass. All lathes and planers had full sets of tools. One blacksmith shop, containing 10 forges. Several offices and drawing-rooms, with their contents. One pattern-shop, with 3 wood turning lathes and 1 wood-planer. Foundry, boiler-shop, copper-shop, and their contents.

Navy-Yard: Containing brass foundry, boat-building house, and 1 machine-shop, with hot-air furnace; 1 engine, 8-horsepower; 1 large planer; 1 rip-saw and drill-press; 5,000 rounds of large ammunition; also 1 blacksmith shop and tools.

McElhaney & Porter's foundry; Containing 1 engine, 20-horsepower.

Niter-Works: Two hundred hands were here employed.

Muscogee Iron-Works: Consisting of foundry, machine-shop, small-arms manufactory, blacksmith shop (300 forges), a large saddler's shop, with tools, and 100 sets of flasks; one engine, 30-horsepower.

C. S. Arsenal: Consisting of machine-shops, foundries, with two 30-horsepower engines, 2 furnaces a large amount of machinery and war material; blacksmith shop (16 forges).

Two powder magazines: Thirteen thousand pounds of powder, 4,000 loaded shells, 81,000 rounds ammunition for small-arms, and large quantities of rockets, fuses, &c.

Eagle Oilcloth Factory: Four-story brick, 150 feet by 50 feet; 136 looms, 3,450 spindles, cotton, and 1,200 spindles, wool; 2,200 yards of jeans, and 1,500 yards osnaburgs made each day.

Howard Oilcloth Factory: Five-story brick building with basement, 120 feet by 50 feet; 146 looms, 5,200 spindles, cotton. This factory made 5,000 yards cloth per day.

Grant Oilcloth Factory: Three stories and basement, brick building, 70 feet by 40 feet; 60 looms and 2,000 spindles, cotton. Made 2,000 yards cloth each day.

Haiman's Iron Foundry: One small engine.

Rock Island Paper Mill: Manufactured printing, letter, and wrapping paper.

Columbus Iron-Works: Sabers, bayonets, and trace-chains were here made; 1,000 stand of arms found.

Haiman's Pistol Factory: This establishment repaired small-arms, made locks, and was about ready to commence making revolvers similar to Colt army.

Hughes, Daniel & Co.'s Warehouse: Ten thousand bales of cotton.

Press and type of following-named newspapers: Columbus Sun, Columbus Enquirer, Columbus Times, and the type, one press, &c. of Memphis Appeal.

The following is a list of pieces and caliber of artillery which was either partially or wholly destroyed, viz: One 10-inch columbiad, four 10-pounder Parrotts, one 10-pounder smooth-bore, and eighteen 6-pounder and 12-pounder guns and howitzers, with limbers and caissons (except the columbiad), all used in the action of the 16th instant and taken while in position. At the navy-yard were two 6-inch siege guns, mounted, one 30-pounder Parrott, and 4 boat howitzers (brass), not mounted. At the depot were 2 rifled siege guns and 1 smooth-bore siege gun, not mounted: also 11 old iron guns (field pieces), and 2 mountain howitzers, mounted. Near headquarters post were 4 brass 6-pounders and limbers, smooth-bore, and at a foundry northeast part of town were 16 field pieces, caissons, &c., caliber not known. At the arsenal was 1 Napoleon gun, new, quite a number of limbers and caissons. Total number of guns, exclusive of the 6 splendid 7-inch rifled ones on gun-boat Jackson, 68. Nearly all were thrown into the river.

Quartermaster's property found in store and issued to the troops and negroes or destroyed: 4,500 suits of Confederate uniform, 5,890 yards army jeans, 1,000 yards osnaburgs, 8,820 pairs of shoes, 4,750 pairs of cotton drawers, 1,700 gray jackets, 4,700 pairs of pants, 2,000 pairs of socks, 4,000 tin cups, 2,000 tin plates, 960 wooden buckets, 20 telegraphic instruments, 400 shirts, 375 hatchets, 650 gray caps, 33 tin pans, 6 coils 1/2-inch rope, 15 boxes carpenter's tools, 400 wall-tents and flies, 1,000 axes and halves, 1,000 picks and halves, 400 spades and shovels.

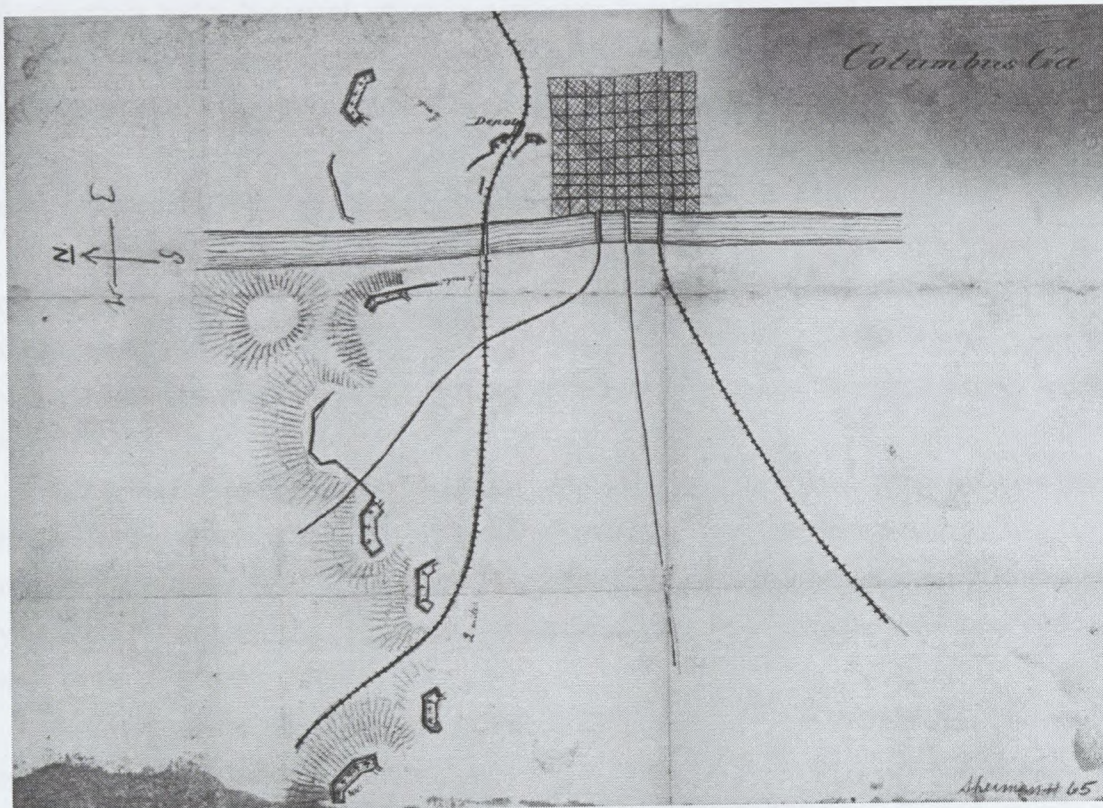
Destroyed at Girard (opposite Columbus): One rope factory, 2 Government blacksmith shops, 2 locomotives, 15 box-cars, and an extensive round-house and railroad machine-shop. The machine-shops, foundries, factories, and other works destroyed here, as above enumerated, were of immense value to the rebels and to the entire South. More than 5,000 employés are thrown upon the community for other support. No private buildings are thrown upon the community for other support. No private buildings in Columbus were destroyed, and no buildings fired except by order and with proper authority. There are thousands of almost pauper citizens and negroes, whose rapacity under the circumstances of our occupation, and in consequence of such extensive destruction of property, was seemingly insatiable. The citizens and negroes formed one vast mob, which seized upon and carried off almost everything movable,

whether unself or not. Four bridges over the Chattahoochee River, at and near Columbus, were thoroughly destroyed, one (old) by the enemy and three (including the railroad bridge) by our troops.

Respectfully submitted.

E. F. Winslow,

Brevet Brigadier-General, Commanding Post⁵



Map of Confederate defenses at Columbus at the time of the battle.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress

⁵Ibid., p. 485-487.

The Curious Tale of the "Hood Baby"

By Callie B. McGinnis

Located toward the back of the Historic Linwood Cemetery in Columbus, Georgia, in the area called "The Old Cemetery," is a small child's grave. Buried there is "The Hood Baby," as she has affectionately been dubbed by locals.



Anna Gertrude Hood

Photo Courtesy of Stephen M. "Sam" Hood

Her monument bears the phrase: "Youngest child of Confederate Gen. J.B. Hood." That would be John Bell Hood, the well-known Confederate general who led his troops to victory early on at the Battles of Gaines' Mill, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg, but was later harshly defeated at the Battles of Atlanta and Nashville. A Kentucky native, Hood settled in New Orleans after the Civil War, where he married and

started a family. His youngest daughter Anna Gertrude, known simply as "Gertrude," was born in August of 1879.¹ How did she end up in Columbus, dying in 1880? That is, indeed, a curious tale.

General John B. Hood moved to New Orleans after the war. There, in 1868, he married Anna Marie Hennen, daughter of a prominent New Orleans attorney, Duncan N. Hennen. Over the next eleven years, the couple had eleven children – including 3 sets of twins. Gertrude was the youngest. The General's children were jokingly called "Hood's Brigade." According to one Hood biographer, the large family sometimes had to "telegraph ahead for milk" when they were traveling!²

1879 was a devastating year for John B. Hood and his family. In the late summer, New Orleans was hit with a yellow fever epidemic. Sadly, on August 24, Mrs. Hood, who had recently given birth to Gertrude, died. A few days later, the oldest Hood daughter, Lydia, died, and then on August 30, General Hood himself succumbed to the deadly fever – leaving ten orphans.³

Immediately, there were loud out-cries across the South calling for donations to support the "Hood's Brigade" orphans. At first it was thought that the children should be kept together (as General Hood had requested before he died). However, that idea soon became impractical. The ten children were eventually adopted by seven families in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Kentucky and New York.⁴

As her tombstone indicates, Gertrude was adopted by Moses and Bettie (Mary Elizabeth Howard) Joseph. Moses Joseph was a Columbus dry goods merchant who had been born in Bavaria; he immigrated to the US as a young boy around 1852.⁵ Bettie Joseph, before her marriage to Moses, was Mary Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Augustus Howard and Ann Jane Lindsay and older sister of Augusta Howard, an early Georgia suffragette.⁶

Bettie and Moses Joseph had married around 1870.⁷ After ten years of a childless marriage, Mrs. Joseph went to New Orleans in February 1880 hoping to adopt one of the Hood orphans. She was one of many applying to adopt an orphan. So, how was a young woman from Columbus, Georgia, traveling by herself to the Crescent City, able to accomplish her goal while many others failed? Newspaper articles of the day hinted that it was "her earnest solicitation and the intercession of her New Orleans friends" that

¹1880 U.S. census, Muscogee County, Georgia, population schedule, Enumeration District 92, p.688B; digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed July 1, 2014, <http://www.ancestry.com>.

²Richard M. McMurry, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), 195-196.

³McMurry, *John Bell Hood*, 202-203.

⁴Eddie Suttle, "Re: Children of John Bell Hood, CSA," post on Genforum, July 21, 1998, accessed July 11, 2014, <http://genforum.genealogy.com>.

⁵"Mr. M. Joseph Passed Away Yesterday," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, February 23, 1920, 3, accessed November 19, 2013, <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

⁶"Augustus Howard," Findagrave, accessed July 11, 2014, <http://www.findagrave.com>.

⁷1900 U.S. census, New York, New York, population schedule, 1A, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.ancestry.com>.

helped her achieve her goal.⁸ Until recently, that vague phrase was all that was known about her reason for success.

However, recently, a Hood descendant has uncovered the real story in a letter written by Bettie Joseph herself. The letter is among hundreds of personal papers of Confederate General John Bell Hood recently discovered by Hood relative Stephen M. "Sam" Hood as he researched his book *John Bell Hood: The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of a Confederate General* (SavasBeatie, 2013). Bettie Joseph's letter is also included in Hood's latest book, *The Lost Papers of Confederate General John Bell Hood* (SavasBeatie, 2015).⁹

Bettie's letter, written in 1922 (included below), was to Ida Hood, one of Gertrude's older sisters. Ida had been adopted by Mr. and Mrs. George Thomas McGehee of Woodville, Mississippi. She lived in New York City for many years, where she worked as a librarian. Ida died March 24, 1961, and is buried in the Bowling Green Cemetery in Woodville, Mississippi.¹⁰

"Clearview"
Columbus Ga
April 13, 1922

Miss Ida Hood,

My dear Miss Hood,

Yesterday I was to see Mr. E.L. Wells who gave me the news that his sister Miss Wells was too sick and that you asked to hear from me about little Gertrude. I am so glad to hear that you are in NY and also glad to write you the particulars of how my husband and I were privileged to secure such a child; one of your noble father's posterity.

We never had a child and whenever I would ask Mr. Joseph to let's adopt one he would refuse and say "we don't know who we might get," but it came about that one day I was visiting Mr. Wells and saw a picture of the Hood children on his mantel and I was drawn to the small baby in the front of the picture on a little couch, so Mr. Wells gave me the picture. I took it home, showed it to my husband and asked him if I could apply to the guardians of the children and see if I could get little Gertrude. His reply was "Why, you could not get one of General Hood's children." I insisted that he let me try so he consented, and I went to New Orleans in Feb. 1880 for her. When I went to court to have the papers made and signed I found the presiding judge was a Judge Campbell and in questioning me he asked what my maiden name was. I said Howard. "Howard! What was your father's name?" Augustus I replied. Then he took both my hands in his and said "You father was one of my dearest friends." Then turning to Mr. Morris (who was related some way to the children) he said "Let her have the child for I knew her father well." So you see what it means to have a good name through a parent.

⁸"Death of the Youngest of the Hood Children," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, July 7, 1880, 4, accessed June 20, 2013, <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

⁹Stephen M. Hood, *John Bell Hood: The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of a Confederate General* (El Dorado Hills, Ca.:SavasBeatie, 2013); Stephen M. Hood, *The Lost Papers of Confederate General John Bell Hood* (El Dorado Hills, Ca.: SavasBeatie, 2015). Many thanks to Sam Hood for allowing the author to use this letter in its entirety.

¹⁰Ida Richardson Hood, Findagrave, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.findagrave.com>.

Well I brought the baby home and she was the talk of the town and everybody wanted to see her because she was General Hood's child and was a dear cherished baby for seven months, for God wanted her to go and be with her parents in heaven. The first time one of our physicians here saw her he said to me "take good care of her, she is not strong." In August we took her out of town thinking the change would benefit her; took her to Warm Springs about 40 miles from here but she did not improve and died there after several days of illness. This same doctor was up there and had charge of her and did all he could but to no purpose. He told me as soon as she became ill she would not live; said her little heart was deeply [illegible] and that she was born with it. Your mother was in much anguish of soul at that time and that I guess accounted for the baby's condition. She was a very [illegible] little darling.

Her precious dust rests here in our cemetery and every 26th of April her grave is decorated in memory of her father General John B. Hood. I hope to meet all of his family in heaven in God's own time and may all the children that are still living be ever under God's all-seeing eyes is my earnest prayer.

*Most sincerely,
Mrs. M E Joseph
In marble slab is:
Anna Gertrude Hood
Adopted Child of Moses and Bettie Joseph
"Of Such is the Kingdom of Heaven"
A little lamb at head with Gertrude on it.*

So, the mystery is solved. Because the judge handling the adoption of the Hood orphans knew and thought highly of Bettie's father, Augustus Howard, she was given custody of little Gertrude. The baby was placed in her adopted mother's arms and brought back to Columbus, where she was nursed with tender, loving kindness.

Unfortunately, in July of the same year, Gertrude became ill, as Bettie's letter explains. The family took her Warm Springs for a change of air and water – hoping that would improve her condition. It did not. We do not know the exact cause of her death, but little Gertrude died on July 5, 1880, a month before her first birthday. According to an article which appeared in the *Columbus Times*: "Not only the parents, but many of their friends, had also formed a strong attachment for Gertrude, and many eyes were wet with tears as they placed the little flower in the cold grave."¹¹

Moses Joseph died in Columbus in 1920; Bettie, in 1931. They are both buried in Linwood Cemetery, in the Howard family plot, with their little Gertrude, the "Hood Baby."

¹¹The article was quoted in *The Macon (Ga.) Weekly Telegraph*, July 16, 1880, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

THE LATE GEN. HOOD'S FAMILY.



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BOULD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

HDDP RELIEF COMMITTEE, N. O.

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2000年12月15日

S. D. SPOCKMAN.

THE COSTS OF
THE 1990 ELECTIONS

GEN. G. T. BLAIR/REDAUER,

WALTER T. CHISHOLM

J. R. MURRAY,

U. S. O.

收稿日期: 2002-07-25

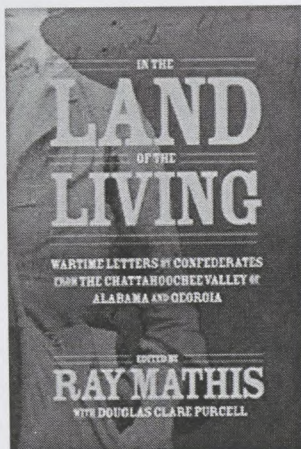
TABLE I

J. A. ETTENBERG

Every Picture Sold adds to the Permanent Fund for the Education and maintenance of these - Wards of the State

This widely distributed photograph of the surviving ten Hood orphans was used as a fund-raising project after their parents' deaths to raise monies for their support. A copy of this exact picture inspired Bettie Joseph to go to New Orleans to see if she could adopt little Gertrude, the baby in the front and center of the portrait. Photo courtesy of Stephen M. "Sam" Hood.

Book Reviews



In the Land of the Living: Wartime Letters by Confederates from the Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia. Edited by Ray Mathis with Douglas Clare Purcell. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2015. 207 pp. ISBN 978-0-8814-6524-2.

Originally published as a limited edition work in 1981, this book is a long-awaited reprint of an important set of letters from soldiers in the Confederate armies to their families and friends at home in the Chattahoochee Valley. These letters are representative of the broad geographical range that men from the region served in the armies of the Confederacy from Shiloh in the West to Gettysburg in the East. Ray Mathis, a former professor at Troy State, died just before the original work appeared in print. This work is dedicated to his commitment to this much needed work as many in the region ask the question during the sesquicentennial of the war: what did the war mean for our area?

These letters not only represent the various places that men from the Chattahoochee served, they are also representative of a variety of ways that they served. There are men who marched in the infantry, rode with the cavalry, and moved artillery pieces from place to place. Some of these men were officers and others served in the ranks. Some were educated and others were not, but lack of education does not detract from the reality of serving in war and the desire for communication with home. In fact, he keeps as much of the original spelling and grammar as possible without allowing the reader to misinterpret the letter.

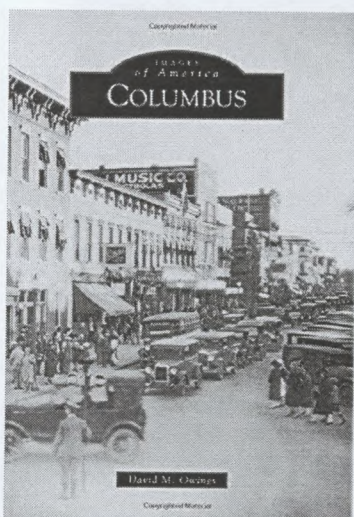
Mathis does a remarkable job of weaving all of these individuals into the larger story of the Civil War. Mathis also organizes the chapters by year and region, again by weaving in the letters of the men from the Chattahoochee Valley. He allows the men the space they deserve, but also deftly handles the grand narrative of the war. One of the most reliable sets of letters are those of Stouten H. Dent of Eufaula, Alabama. Dent is a lawyer who was newly married. He has a strong sense of patriotism and honor, thus joins the army very early. After some training around Montgomery, Dent is named adjutant of the First Alabama Infantry. We find that sense of patriotism lasting well into the war, but he misses the birth of his son in the summer of 1861. In fact, throughout the war, he struggles with himself over the responsibilities he has for his family and the duty he owes to the army.

All of the men showcased in this volume seem to have a strong sense of duty, but they see the horror of war and are transformed. These men write about the extreme heat of the summer along the Gulf Coast and the biting cold of the winter in Virginia. They write about disease and men dying. It may

well be fitting that Mathis ends the book with a letter informing a comrade's father that his son fell in battle. Thus the great tragedy in American history comes to a close. If you're interested in the Civil War or the history of the Chattahoochee River Valley, then this book is well worth the price and the time to read.

Jeffery Seymour

National Civil War Naval Museum



Images of America: Columbus. David Owings. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2015. 128 pp. ISBN 978-1-4671-1404-2.

Given the enduring popularity of F. Clason Kyle's seminal 1986 work *Images: A Pictorial History of Columbus, Georgia*, perhaps it is not surprising that it has taken 22 years for Arcadia Publishing's ubiquitous *Images of America* series to include a book on the general history of Columbus. Previous editions have focused on the city's African American history, postcard views, and scenes along the Chattahoochee River; even Fort Benning received the Arcadia treatment before David Owings took up the challenge of creating a wide-ranging photographic history of Columbus. Owings, archivist for Columbus State University and a Chattahoochee Valley native, has utilized the CSU Archives' extensive holdings and his own knowledge of the area to create a volume that works in broad strokes for the uninitiated while still offering a few surprises for even the most diligent local researchers.

Divided into four chronological sections, *Images of America: Columbus* highlights many of the people, places, and events that mark the city's history. In addition to the CSU Archives, images have been drawn from the collections of the Columbus Museum, the Historic Columbus Foundation, the W.C. Bradley Company Archives, the Georgia Archives, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives, as well as from private collectors. Special attention is given to Columbus' architecture, industry, businesses, and civic organizations, and it is worth noting and applauding that many of the prominent local residents featured are women and people of color.

Owings gives ample space to the Chattahoochee River's significant role in the local economy and culture but also emphasizes the many other forces that shaped Columbus' growth into the community it is today. He ties local developments to national movements and trends, reminding readers that though Columbus has a distinct sense of place, its history has also been shaped by national and international

forces. Interaction between Spanish, English, and French traders and various American Indian tribes influenced Columbus' founding location, while American entry into World War I ultimately resulted in the creation of Fort Benning.

The most refreshing aspect of Owings' work is the inclusion of images that illuminate lesser-known stories. Columbus' importance during the Civil War is well-documented, but here Owings uses newspaper advertisements for antebellum businesses to discuss slavery in Columbus, a subject nearly impossible to illustrate with traditional images. Readers will find rare photographs of parades on Broadway in support of the military during World War I and union strikes at textile mills and movie theaters. The Civil Rights Movement was notably quiet in Columbus, but images of the peaceful integration of Columbus College in 1963 and the Ku Klux Klan rallying on the steps of the Columbus Consolidated Government Center hint at the underlying tension of the era.

Images of America: Columbus should appeal to both casual readers and serious researchers as it offers a thorough overview of local history and several images with limited prior exposure, making this volume a worthy addition to the Columbus history bookshelf.

Rebecca Bush

The Columbus Museum

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